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THE PUBLICATIONS OF THE HUDSON'S BAY RECORD SOCIETY

LETTERS OUTWARD

1688-1696



LONDON

THE HUDSON'S BAY RECORD SOCIETY

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HUDSON'S BAY COPY
BOOKE OF LETTERS
COMMISSIONS INSTRUCTIONS
OUTWARD

1688—1696

EDITED BY

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LONDON

THE HUDSON'S BAY RECORD SOCIETY

1957

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PREFACE

THE end of the seventeenth century, when the Company was emerging from an experimental into an established institution, with a Parliamentary confirmation of its Charter to add greater stability, was a period for which the Company's surviving documents leave much to be desired. No reports, journals or letters homewards from Hudson Bay, have survived in the Company's archives. All that remains of the documents coming home from the Bay are the accounts from York Fort and from Albany, the order for keeping watch at Albany, and a couple of brief records of the trials of homesick and mutinous servants. For the rest the story of events has to be reconstructed from London Minutes, London Letters Outwards and London Accounts.

Such documents deal with no specific problems ; they merely run from arbitrary starting-date to arbitrary finishing-date. But, as Mr. Davies shows in his introduction, they make possible the reconstruction of the Company's history during these formative years. This has been achieved despite the fact that at this period the Letters Outwards bear clear evidence that the Company was indifferently served by an unsatisfactory clerk. In fact the Committee had decided that the " place and title of Secretary " was chiefly to keep the Minutes of the Committee and to draw warrants for money, and had abolished that office in 1690. The accountant thenceforth was responsible for secretarial work, and the abbreviations and omissions in the Letters Outwards make it clear that the abolition of the secretary was a false economy. Transcription, and expansion of the abbreviations, have required considerable ingenuity ; and if the published version still seems to be a trifle archaic that impression should remind the reader of the many defects in the original. That the Letters have been reduced to their present form is entirely due to the knowledge and labour of Miss Johnson and her staff in the Archives Department, who are responsible for the transcription, the notes and the appendixes.

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INTRODUCTION

THE terminal dates of this volume are set by the accidental arrangement of the letters of 1688 to 1696 in a single book¹ in the Hudson's Bay Company's archives; they do not define a period. No major development in the Company's history was initiated in 1688, and none ended in 1696. Of the outstanding problems with which the Company was concerned in these years, one, Anglo-French rivalry, entered the stage of "armed conflict" in 1686 and open war in 1689. Another, the fall in the price of beaver, was already noticeable two years before these letters begin. A third, the question of the right to an exclusive trade in the Bay, began a new phase in 1690 as the result of an Act of Parliament confirming the Charter. Even more clearly, the departure of the fleet designed for the recovery of York Fort in 1696, with which this volume closes, was no more than an incident in the changing fortunes of war; within a year, all its work had been undone.

In perhaps only one important respect does the year 1688 open a new chapter in the history of Hudson Bay. In the previous autumn, Pierre Esprit Radisson returned to London, never again to visit the scenes of his extraordinary triumphs. For years past, whichever nation he had been assisting had enjoyed a clear advantage over the other. Now his long reign was over. The question of what was to be done with him or for him in retirement was raised many times after 1688 and even makes its appearance in these letters.² Time and again the Committee were bothered by Radisson himself, by his sponsors, and perhaps a little by their own consciences. But the story of Radisson's life after his return to London is of interest chiefly to his biographers and has been in any case so fully worked over that no further comment is needed. In the Bay a new star was already rising, that of Pierre Lemoyne d'Iberville, who, if anyone, replaced Radisson as arbiter of the region.³ That the outcome of the war of 1689-97 was (on the whole) more favourable to the French than to the English is in large measure due to

¹ [Hudson's Bay Company Archives] A.6/2. Subsequent classification numbers refer to Hudson's Bay Company Archives.

² See pp. 166-82.

³ There are several lives of d'Iberville. I have relied upon the most recent, Crouse, *Lemoyne d'Iberville*. . . .

the fact that Iberville, unlike Radisson, was a fighting-man and, again unlike Radisson, did not change sides.

I

In view of the rapid changes of fortune in Hudson Bay during the war, it will be convenient briefly to summarize the history of Anglo-French rivalry in this region before attempting to explain the effects of war upon the Company's trade and finance. In 1688 only two settlements, York Fort¹ and New Severn, were English. The three posts at the Bottom of the Bay, Moose, Albany and Rupert River, were in French hands following the brilliant operation of 1686 when a force of about a hundred Canadians led by de Troyes had made its way overland from Montreal and taken each of the English settlements in turn. The Hudson's Bay Company had no intention of accepting this *coup* as final and, while pressing forward with diplomatic representations in Europe, took steps in 1688 for the recovery of its rights. Four ships were dispatched to the Bay, of which two, the *Churchill* and the *Yonge* frigates, were detailed for the recovery of Albany. John Marsh was given command of the expedition and appointed Governor of the Company's possessions at the Bottom of the Bay.

Marsh's orders were framed in a deliberately guarded way. Anglo-French colonial relations in this year were regulated by a truce due to expire on January 1, 1689, and the Committee were obliged to proceed carefully. Marsh was to sail to Albany River and there "build and settle a Fort & Factory";² he had no explicit instruction to attack the French and repossess the Company's old settlement. He was given a copy of the truce, told to defend himself if attacked, and somewhat ambiguously ordered to recover "his Maties. Rights & our's" unjustly seized in time of peace.³ It is difficult to see how the expedition could have achieved its purpose without a fracture of the truce; in the event of trouble the Committee relied on the King's commission to Marsh to be Governor of the Bottom of the Bay,⁴ and also, no doubt, on the difficulty of ever apportioning responsibility for aggression.

¹ The settlement on Hayes River (frequently called "Port Nelson" in this volume) was known as York Fort at least as early as 1686 (*H.B.S.*, XI, 196, 199, 202. See also pp. 224, 241, 243), but that name did not come into more general use until a few years later. It is sometimes referred to in general terms as "Hayes River". For convenience, "York Fort" is used throughout this Introduction.

² See p. 39.

³ See p. 42.

⁴ See pp. 31-2.

With the departure of this fleet, the Company's affairs wore a more promising aspect than for several years past or to come. In the event, however, the attempt to recover Albany proved to be the first of a series of setbacks which made the years 1689 and 1690 the blackest in the Company's history to this time. Marsh contrived to establish himself on an island in Albany River, though not in Fort Ste. Anne (as the French had renamed Albany), and there is no doubt that with prudent management the English foothold could have been consolidated. Iberville, who commanded here, was heavily outnumbered.¹ The story of how Marsh's men were lulled into a false sense of security and in the winter of 1688-89 "wandring to hunt Pateridges, were them selves caught Like woodcocks",² has often been told.³ A full and seemingly accurate version of the affair is contained in the affidavit of Soloman Nichols.⁴ Marsh died before the final surrender, but some forty Englishmen were taken prisoner. Some were carried to Canada and the remainder (Nichols among them) were given the use of the Company's ship *Huband*⁵ and found their way back to Ireland. To complete the humiliation, the *Churchill* and *Yonge* were both taken by the French. Naturally the Committee blamed Marsh and the other leaders for this disaster, but some accounts suggest that half-heartedness (or perhaps treachery) on the part of the crew of an English interloping ship taken by the *Churchill* contributed to the defeat.⁶

A subsidiary objective of the fleet of 1688 was the establishment of a new settlement at Churchill River, some one hundred and fifty miles north from York Fort. The intention was to effect what the Committee had long had in mind, the development of whale-fishing, and a harpooner was included among the men detailed for the task.⁷ Captain Young of the *Dering* was ordered to land a party to build the house, though it was hoped that a beginning would already have been made from York Fort. No settlement is known to have been effected this year, but in 1689 Captain Young in the *Hopewell* took some men to Churchill River and built a house. Henry Kelsey was one of the party and his papers contain the record of a journey undertaken with a view to discovering the lands to the north and, if possible, getting in touch with the Dog-rib Indians.

¹ Crouse, *Lemoyne d'Iberville*, pp. 43-4.

² See p. 94.

³ By Crouse, *Lemoyne d'Iberville*, etc.

⁴ See pp. 81-4.

⁵ This ship, commanded by Richard Smithsend, had been sent from England to York Fort in 1687. She joined the ships at the Bottom of the Bay in the following year and was captured by the French at "Prince Ruperts River". See p. 83 and note 1.

⁶ Crouse, *Lemoyne d'Iberville*, pp. 45-6.

⁷ See pp. 9-10.

He was away about a month, but in that time did not meet a single Indian. Soon after his return, the factory was destroyed by fire and abandoned.¹ Ten tons of blubber was all the Company had to show for this venture, but, while no resettlement was brought about in this period, the Committee often referred to it : thus in 1691 they submitted to the discretion of Governor Geyer the possibility of taking up again what "was pretty well begun in the year 1689".²

The orders drawn up in 1689 show complete ignorance of Marsh's death and the failure of the expedition of the previous year. The Committee were obliged to assume that this had succeeded and that the main task was to reinforce the forts and convey news of the declaration of war with France. They were, however, still interested in the further development of the north-west of the Bay and Captain Ford in the *Northwest Fox* was given the assignment of making a settlement on "the Great River which Lyes to the Northward of Churchill River".³ The identity of this river is not clear : it may be one of the inlets (perhaps Chesterfield) to the far north of the Bay. Ford was to sail as far up it as possible and winter there, discovering the country and making contact with the Louzy Indians and, through them, with the Dog-ribs. This was the last attempt to open new territory made by the Hudson's Bay Company for many years, and the capture of the *Northwest Fox* by French privateers on the outward voyage meant that it was not carried out. As in the case of the Churchill River, the Committee did not entirely abandon the project, referring to it in 1691 and again in 1693 as a place "we have a longing Desire" to find out.⁴

News of Marsh's failure first reached the Company by way of Canada and France.⁵ It was confirmed in October 1689 by the arrival of Captain Young in the *Dering* (having wintered at York Fort), who on his passage through Hudson Strait had sighted the *Churchill* in French hands. Details were later supplied by the arrival of the survivors in the *Huband*. The outlook for 1690, therefore, was gloomy, and the letters of that year reflect the abandonment for the time being at least of the forward policy. The Committee hoped that Dering River (as they called the "Great River" of the north) would be settled but left it entirely to Geyer's discretion. No orders were issued for the recovery of the Bottom of the Bay. Fortunately for the Company, this year's fleet arrived safely and in time to protect York Fort against Iberville's latest attack. Iberville on this occasion had three ships but only eighty

¹ Doughty and Martin, *Kelsey Papers*, pp. 31-2.

² See p. 119.

³ See pp. 64-5.

⁴ See p. 188.

⁵ See p. 94.

men, whereas the Company's ships had over a hundred besides fifty or sixty in York Fort itself.¹ There can be little doubt that, but for the presence of these English ships, the last of the Company's strongholds in the Bay would have fallen, for Iberville was not the man to abandon an assault unless the odds were heavily against him. As it was, he obtained some consolation by appearing off New Severn. Thomas Walsh commanded there with a small garrison and wisely determined to destroy his post rather than let it fall into French hands. The Committee subsequently approved and even commended this action, but were probably unaware that Iberville had salvaged a quantity of beaver skins from the fire.²

Walsh and his men retired to York Fort, the only post left to the English. Three years of hostilities had now gone by and the Company's position had markedly deteriorated. The attempt to recover Albany had failed in the most humiliating way imaginable ; four ships had been lost ; the projects for opening up the north-west had come to nothing ; New Severn was in ruins ; and York Fort had had a narrow escape. Moreover, as a result of the Battle of Beachy Head on June 30, 1690, French naval power in Europe was at its height and the English Channel dangerous for shipping. The Company's back was to the wall, and 1691 was not the time for aggression. Two ships only were sent to the Bay, both to return directly to England, and once again there was no question of recovering Albany. Various projects, including the resettlement of Churchill River and New Severn, were submitted to Geyer, but none was insisted upon and none involved collision with the French. This year proved unusually quiet : Iberville had wintered at Albany and spent the summer of 1691 there, perhaps in expectation of an English attack. None came, and he himself attempted nothing.

The letters of 1692 suggest a belief that the worst was now over. Chiefly this optimism was due to the shattering English naval victory at La Hogue in May, an enthusiastic account of which was sent to Geyer.³ Great as this victory undoubtedly was and important as were its repercussions on the grand strategy of the combatants, the Committee perhaps exaggerated its direct effects upon the situation in the Bay. Despite the rumours of a projected attack on York Fort which were already reaching London, the letter to Geyer states : "... we doe not conceive your Place to be in any danger, & we Suppose that Mounsr. hath had a Cooling Care here in Europe from projecting any great attempts in America".⁴ There was even talk of an English squadron to

¹ Crouse, *Lemoyne d'Iberville*, pp. 64-5.

² *Ibid.*, p. 65.

³ See pp. 135-6.

⁴ See p. 137.

root out the French from their Plantations in the West Indies, Canada and Newfoundland, and a confident hope was expressed of peace during the following winter.

The decision to try to recover the Bottom of the Bay was taken in March 1692, two months before La Hogue.¹ Four ships were dispatched, three of them, the *Royal Hudson's Bay*, the *Pery* and the *Prosperous* fire-ship, being detailed for the attack. James Knight was given command of the expedition and designated Governor of the Bottom of the Bay. His orders were to recover one of the Company's old forts if possible, but if not to build a new one.² Information in the Company's archives about his activities is scarce, but fortunately can be pieced out from other sources. For reasons that do not appear, the assault was not delivered, as expected, in the summer of 1692; Knight wintered at "Gilpins Island and elsewhere on the East Main",³ that is, in James Bay but on the opposite side from Albany. In the spring of 1693 he made his attack and, with little difficulty, possessed himself of Albany. The French garrison, all but eight, had either perished for want of relief by sea or returned overland to Canada. Of the eight, one went mad and murdered two of the others. The remaining five put up some resistance to Knight's assault, but since there could be no hope of prolonging the issue they soon escaped into the woods and made for Montreal.⁴ The English thus recovered Albany and, with it, took one prisoner, who was brought to England and examined by the Committee on November 29, 1693.⁵ If his evidence is to be trusted, twenty-one Frenchmen had left the fort to travel to Canada only a month before the attack. Knight did not re-occupy Moose or Rupert River either now or later, but his success completely changed (for the time being) the aspect of the Company's affairs in the Bay: they were now (or seemed to be) on a firmer footing than at any time since 1686.

News of the recovery of Albany reached London only with the return of the fleet sent out in 1693. Two ships had been dispatched, both for York Fort. Uncertain of the position at the Bottom of the Bay, the Committee sent no ship directly to Albany but supplied Knight from York Fort. This year, like 1691, proved to be one of inactivity, the English attempting no further expansion and the French being otherwise engaged.

French plans to seize York Fort, cherished for many years, were

¹ A.1/14, fo. 11.

² See pp. 146-7.

³ See p. 228.

⁴ Tyrrell, *Docs. Rel. Early History of Hudson's Bay*, pp. 109, 256. There are some discrepancies between Father Marest's account and that of La Potherie.

⁵ A.1/16, fo. 4.

however reaching maturity in the winter of 1693. Two royal ships, *Poli* and *Salamandre*, were assigned to the task under Iberville's command and sailed from La Rochelle in May 1694.¹ The expedition had to go first to Quebec in order to recruit men, and this, together with contrary winds, caused it to arrive at York Fort later than expected. Iberville, in much greater force than in 1690, had hoped to catch the English fleet before it sailed, but in fact did not appear in Hayes River until September 14/24 : Kelsey's Journal suggests that the Company's ships had by then been gone a month.² This source also supplies an eye-witness account of the siege and surrender on October 4/14, 1694. The Committee subsequently referred to this episode as a base surrender,³ but it cannot be said that the Company's servants behaved worse than usual. Iberville had one hundred and ten Canadians and about the same number of sailors from France : Walsh, who commanded, had fifty-three men. It was indeed the common story of a superior force, with a stomach for fighting, overcoming a smaller number of traders, artisans and labourers. The prisoners were taken to France and news of the setback did not reach London until November 1695.⁴ The first survivors got back to England nearly eighteen months after capture.⁵

The decision to send no ships to the Bay in 1695 had, therefore, nothing to do with the fall of York Fort : it was made (though not recorded) in April or May, well before the first advice of Iberville's success, and it proved an extremely fortunate one. Iberville, having missed the fleet in 1694, wintered at York Fort with the intention of, first, catching the ships sent in 1695, and then proceeding southward to take Albany. It was an entirely reasonable plan, but for once his instinct was wrong. Had he gone south in 1695 Albany would probably have fallen. As it was, he waited at York till September and then sailed for Quebec.⁶ Once again, the Company was saved by luck from total expulsion from the Bay.

The Committee's reactions to the loss of York Fort were vigorous. Royal assistance was sought and obtained in the form of H.M.S. *Bonaventure* and H.M.S. *Seaford*. Together with three of the Company's ships, they sailed from Aldeburgh on June 13, 1696. This fleet carried the last letters contained in the present volume, but it may be added that the force was completely successful, York Fort being in English hands on September 3 following. The promising note on which these letters

¹ Crouse, *Lemoyne d'Iberville*, p. 92.

² Doughty and Martin, *Kelsey Papers*, pp. 39-45.

³ See p. 270.

⁴ A.1/17, fo. 18.

⁵ A.1/18, fo. 6.

⁶ Crouse, *Lemoyne d'Iberville*, pp. 101-3.

thus end proved, however, to be quite false, for a year later Iberville re-took York following the famous battle between his *Pelican* and a strong English fleet. The end of the war thus found the Company (for the third time in seven years) reduced to a single possession.

From this brief summary of the ebb and flow of Anglo-French rivalry in Hudson Bay two inferences may be drawn. In the first place, the scales were heavily weighted in favour of an attacker. In twelve years, 1686-97, the French attacked Moose, Rupert and Albany Rivers, New Severn, and York Fort three times; only once, at York in 1690, did they fail. The English sent two expeditions to the Bottom of the Bay and one against York Fort; only that of 1688 failed, through (as is universally agreed) egregious incompetence. Ten assaults were thus delivered, eight being successful. Secondly, in these attacks and counter-attacks, both sides depended upon forces from Europe for gaining or holding a position. It goes without saying that English affairs in the Bay were entirely determined by the exertions of the Company in London; the question of direct relief from New England or New York never arose. But it may be worth stressing that the French were not very much better off. It is true that de Troyes's expedition in 1686 had proved the feasibility of transporting a military force overland from Canada and that such a force could arrive in a condition to fight. But de Troyes owed some of his success to the fact that he attacked the English in a time of official peace. Any force from Canada was likely to be deficient in artillery, the arm most useful for assaulting the Bay settlements. De Troyes seems to have been no exception, but he had been fortunate enough to find an English ship in Rupert River and enterprising enough to seize her by means of a small party in open boats. The guns thus acquired were landed and used against Albany with great effect.¹ That future expeditions could acquire artillery in the same way could not be assumed, and, since artillery was virtually indispensable, this ensured that French as well as English attackers would normally come by sea. The next overland expedition (as opposed to reinforcements) was not until 1709, and it achieved the unusual distinction of failure.²

The fact that Hudson Bay was to the French an appendage of Canada, while to the English it was a separate region in competition with New York and New England did not, therefore, make as much difference as might have been expected. Canada provided Iberville with recruits of the kind he needed for his work and very important they were. But the

¹ Tyrrell, *Docs. Rel. Early History of Hudson's Bay*, pp. 251-2.

² B.3/d/18, fo. 48d.; A.6/3, fo. 101; A.1/32, fo. 24.

major French expeditions (1690, 1694, 1697) all drew their chief naval strength from France, and the two that achieved most (1694, 1697) consisted of royal ships. Everything of moment that took place in the Bay in the war of 1689-97 did so as the result of decisions made in Europe rather than the New World. Canada, preoccupied with New England, New York and Newfoundland, played the part of auxiliary rather than principal ; or perhaps it would be truer to say that her greatest contribution to the French effort was Iberville.

II

That successes in the Bay were often short-lived and that the eventual outcome of the war was more favourable to France than England can be partly attributed to the isolation of the Hudson's Bay Company. Despite the fact that events in the Bay figured as a *casus belli* in the declaration of war, the English Government extended very little support to the Company. Not until 1696 did a ship of the Royal Navy enter Hudson Strait. The French, on the other hand, received more (and earlier) help from their government. At the same time, they were able to use Canada as a recruiting-ground where men of a type well-fitted for war were available for expeditions to the Bay. To these factors and to the fighting qualities of Iberville, they owed their success. The Hudson's Bay Company till 1696 had to fight its battles alone and usually with inferior material.

The manpower-shortage was indeed a major problem of these years. Difficulty was experienced in finding enough men to send to the Bay at precisely the moment when they were most needed. Various projects for settlement, such as Churchill and Dering Rivers, were abandoned or not renewed for this reason, and the garrisons of the forts were seldom strong enough to inspire confidence in their capacity to resist attack. Thus in 1690 the Committee were able to send to York Fort only three men,¹ and Geyer was strictly ordered to permit no servants to return until their time was expired.² Members of ships' crews who were willing to stay were encouraged to do so ;³ this, however, led to the abuse whereby highly-paid seamen changed places with men ashore, which the Committee forbade in 1693.⁴ By 1692 the shortage was so serious that Geyer was ordered to permit no one, whether time-expired or not, to return.⁵

¹ See p. 103.

² Ibid.

³ See pp. 108, 110.

⁴ See p. 191.

⁵ See p. 141

To remedy this situation the Committee turned to the principal reservoir of cheap labour available in the late seventeenth century, Scotland. In March 1691 the Committee were in touch with Hugh Verner with a view to recruiting landmen for terms of four years at wages rising from £7 to £13 a year.¹ Verner managed to engage a few men but, on arrival in London, two of them were promptly pressed for the Navy: the Committee obtained an order for their release, but the ship to which they had been sent had already sailed.² In 1693 the Committee were again negotiating for ten or twelve able Scotsmen of between twenty and thirty years of age "or any person that has worked in the mines".³ What success was met with on this occasion has not been established, but by the following year the shortage (so far as landmen were concerned) had very much eased. The Committee were able to send no fewer than 40 men, 21 to Albany and 19 to York.⁴ The latter ("stout Brave fellows") must have comprised a large part of the garrison which surrendered to Iberville a few months later.

For obvious reasons seamen were in even shorter supply than landmen during the war period. In order to man the Navy, controls as rigid as it was then possible to devise were imposed on merchant-shipping. Two principal weapons were employed, the embargo, whereby ships were forbidden to sail, and the press, whereby the crews of immobilized merchantmen were diverted to the Navy. To get its fleet away on time and adequately manned, therefore, the Hudson's Bay Company needed licence to sail and protection for its mariners, and until the victory of La Hogue in 1692 they were not always easily come by. Thus in 1689 a total embargo was imposed on all shipping on April 15.⁵ The Committee at once applied for and obtained passes for the *Royal Hudson's Bay* and *Northwest Fox*, together with seventy mariners.⁶ Nevertheless, when they arrived at Gravesend on June 12 to see off the departing fleet, they found the press-gang at work and a "great want of Seamen". The Deputy Governor went aboard H.M.S. *Berkeley Castle* and "wrought soe effectually" with her commander that he promised to help the Company. Whether he did or not does not appear, but on the following day the Committee were obliged to engage two landmen to make the voyage.⁷

In 1690 the Company petitioned for commissions to the captains going to the Bay to press men for its fleet,⁸ but does not seem to have

¹ A.1/13, fo. 11d.

² Ibid., fos. 17d., 18.

³ A.1/15, fo. 12d.

⁴ See pp. 232, 236.

⁵ *Acts of the Privy Council* (Colonial Series), 1680-1720, p. 117.

⁶ A.1/11, fo. 16.

⁷ Ibid., fos. 21d.-23d.

⁸ A.9/4, fo. 13.

been successful. Licence was, however, granted for the dispatch of one hundred and fifteen men and three ships, as a result of Marlborough's intervention. For this he was voted plate of solid gold to the value of one hundred and fifty guineas, a token at once of his usefulness and of the value of seamen.¹ Soon the Committee began to adopt subterfuges : thus in January 1691 they agreed with Captain Edgcombe to secure thirty or forty able seamen on the promise of half-pay to those " that shall abscond till there bee occasion for them ".² At Gravesend, the following year, several of the seamen were mutinous, demanding extra pay " for their Lying by in obscurity ", and had to be quietened by the distribution of £40.³ It was in this year, during the naval campaign which ended at La Hogue, that the Committee were most sorely troubled. A large fleet was designed for the recovery of the Bottom of the Bay and protection was sought for one hundred and fifty mariners. An order was made granting this protection, but on condition of the Company's furnishing the same number of mariners for the Navy. The Admiralty further insisted that these men should be delivered to H.M.S. *Vanguard* before the Company's protection was issued. By the time the Company's fleet was due to sail, the Committee had found only twenty-five sailors for the Navy and was still unable to dispatch the ships. Finally, on a promise to give security to find the rest of the men within a month, the ships were permitted to depart on June 20, three weeks after the normal peace-time date of sailing.⁴ Well might the Committee excuse their failure to recruit landmen this year by the hindrance of " perpetuall daily attendance here in getting Protections for our Ships & Seamen ".⁵ In 1693 and 1694, with the Navy triumphant, things were easier and the ships and men requested were obtained with little difficulty.⁶ Nevertheless, the quality of the Company's crews at this time may have left something to be desired : in 1693, for example, the crew of the *Supply* was stated to be chiefly " Scotch, Dutch and many Boyes ".⁷

In the light of these shortages of men and delayed departures, it is remarkable that the Company's losses at sea were so light. In the nine years, 1688-96, twenty-two ships were sent to the Bay. Two of them, the *Churchill* and *Yonge*, were taken by the French at the Bottom of the Bay before the declaration of war.⁸ One, the *Northwest Fox*, was lost

¹ A.1/12, fo. 12d.

² A.1/13, fo. 6d.

³ A.1/14, fo. 20d.

⁴ Ibid., fos. 11d., 15, 16d., 17d., 20d.; A.9/4, fos. 17d.-19d.; *Acts of the Privy Council (Colonial Series)* 1680-1720, p. 170.

⁵ See p. 141.

⁶ A.9/4, fos. 20, 20d., 22d.

⁷ A.1/15, fo. 23.

⁸ The third ship taken by the French at the Bottom of the Bay was the *Huband*, sent out in 1687.

in passage between London and the Bay ; she fell to privateers off the Scillies in June 1689 on the occasion when Captain Edgcombe defended the *Royal Hudson's Bay* for eight or nine hours and brought her back, disabled but safe, to Plymouth.¹ Thus, apart from ships taken in the Bay in time of peace, only one vessel (and that a small one with an insignificant cargo) was lost by enemy action.²

The major disaster of the war from the Company's point of view, the naval defeat off York Fort, took place in September 1697 and thus falls outside the scope of this volume.

This immunity should be contrasted with the heavy losses suffered in the West Indian, African, American and Levant trades in the same period. Ships on all these routes had to pass down the Channel and through the zone of most intense privateering activity stretching from the Breton ports to the southern coast of Ireland. That so many of the Company's ships should have escaped the privateers was due hardly at all to the protection of the Royal Navy, a little to good management, and most of all to luck.

The war of 1689-97 was the first in which recognizably modern convoy arrangements were provided by the Navy. But inevitably the Admiralty's resources were stretched to the utmost and had to be directed towards the protection of trades in which the largest numbers of merchant-ships were engaged. The trade to Hudson Bay stood by itself and the Admiralty could hardly be expected to provide a warship to look after the two or three vessels annually dispatched. In 1690, the year after the loss of the *Northwest Fox*, a petition was hopefully presented for one of the smallest fourth-rate frigates to convoy the fleet, but nothing came of it.³ The only evidence found of direct assistance from the Navy before the expedition of 1696 is a reference to the payment of £10 to Captain George Churchill for convoying the *Dering* from Plymouth to London.⁴ This was probably an informal arrangement fixed up between two commanders who happened to be going in the same direction, and it is possible that similar help may have been obtained on other occasions up or down the Channel.

Good management played a rather larger part : with the French in the Channel and the Western Approaches, the obvious move was to direct the ships northabout round Scotland. In 1690, 1691 and 1696, this was done.⁵ But in 1692, 1693 and 1694 the departure of the fleet

¹ See pp. 93-4 and A.1/11, fo. 26.

² The only other loss was that of the *Prosperous*, which was wrecked in 1695. See p. 269, n. 3.

³ A.9/4, fo. 12d.

⁴ A.1/11, fo. 34d.

⁵ See pp. 106, 131, 294.

was so much delayed that the Committee were obliged to leave it to the discretion of their admiral whether he went northabout "altho' we heartily wish it may be your fortune to goe that way".¹ The northward course itself was not without danger from the French, as the Committee discovered in 1694. The Company's fleet had scarcely sailed from Gravesend before news arrived of twenty-three French men-of-war sailing north from Dunkirk. Orders were at once sent to Gravesend and Aldeburgh to route the Company's ships down the Channel.² It was too late to catch them, but, whether they finally went northabout or not, they missed the French. Normally the Committee issued no orders regarding the homeward voyage, though in 1691 the possibility of returning northabout was mentioned.³ The determining factor was the lateness of the season, for in November the north coast of Scotland was probably as dangerous to a sailing ship as the French privateers.

Luck, however, was more important. The fleet of 1694 escaped the warships from Dunkirk more by luck than planning, and in the Bay itself the Company was particularly fortunate on two occasions. The strong French attack on York Fort came in the early autumn of 1694 ; had it been earlier, the *Dering* and *Royal Hudson's Bay* might both have been taken. Again, in the following year, the Committee decided for quite other reasons than the loss of York (of which they had not heard) to send no ships ; had any gone to the Bay, they would have sailed into the trap set for them by Iberville.⁴

The scanty assistance accorded by the Navy obliges us to conclude that in so far as the English Government may be said to have had a policy towards Hudson Bay, the Company's affairs were given the low priority in grand strategy which (on the whole) they deserved. Indeed from 1689 to 1692 the Company was hindered rather than helped, and the successful bid to recover Albany without naval aid of any kind must, therefore, rank as a bold and praiseworthy stroke by private enterprise. Later in the war, the Navy's resources were such that ships could be spared for side-shows ; hence the allocation of two men-of-war for the expedition of 1696. The first advice of the French capture of York Fort came in a letter from Captain Philip Parsons, prisoner-of-war at La Rochelle, and was laid before the Committee on November 15, 1695.⁵ The decision to seek royal assistance for the recovery of the fort was immediately taken. In January following the Committee resolved to press Sir Stephen Evance, their Governor, about the application, they having waited on him often to no effect. At the

¹ See pp. 149, 215, 253.

² See p. 253 and A.1/16, fo. 21d.

³ See. p. 132.

⁴ See p. 275.

⁵ A.1/17, fo. 18.

beginning of February, the Deputy Governor reported that the Company's petition had been before the cabinet and the King, and that the next step was to put in an account of the force needed.¹ The requirements, in the Committee's submission, were as follows: 1 fourth-rate of 50 guns and 240 men; 2 fifth-rates of 30 or 34 guns and 170 men each; 2 mortars of 14 cwt. each, and 4 small field-pieces, the ships to be ready to sail by May 15.² No doubt this estimate of a force of 580 men, in addition to the Company's own strength, was a deliberate exaggeration in the hope that, when scaled down, there would still remain sufficient strength. Two men-of-war were in fact assigned to the task, but it was not until May 28 that the Admiralty Board ordered H.M.S. *Bonaventure* and *Seaford* to the rendezvous at Aldeburgh.³ On May 30 the Committee saw their own fleet off from Gravesend as usual, but more than a week later several members had to travel down to Aldeburgh to further the dispatch. There, all was chaos: Captain Allen in *Bonaventure* lacked beer and provisions for the voyage, and these the Committee had themselves to supply. More seriously, Captain Grange in *Seaford* had only half his complement of men. On June 11, his ship went up to Yarmouth to press: seven men were obtained, probably from colliers, four more were pressed ashore, and on the next day a tender arrived from The Nore with a further seventeen. At this point Captain Grange revealed that he too was short of provisions, "not haveing had time to provide himselfe therewith as being a Stranger to the designe he was going upon". Again, the Committee had to come to the rescue, and on June 13 *Seaford* (still short of men) went once more to Yarmouth to complete her complement. Later in the same day the rest of the fleet sailed from Aldeburgh, a fortnight after the Company's ships had left Gravesend.⁴ The Committee must have been relieved to see the back of them; it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that, but for their efforts, the fleet would have sailed very much later, if at all.

III

A matter of great moment under discussion in these years and reflected in a number of letters in this volume was the question of the Hudson's Bay Company's right to an exclusive trade under the Charter of 1670.

¹ A.1/18, fo. 6, 6d.

² A.9/4, fo. 24.

³ London, Public Record Office, Adm. 3/284.

⁴ A.1/18, fos. 23d.-25d.

In 1690 the Company applied for an Act of Parliament confirming the Charter and this was granted, though for a term of seven years only. When this Act expired, the subject was re-opened and further parliamentary discussions took place in 1698; but no renewal was enacted.

Even from so brief a recital of the salient facts, a number of important problems concerning the Company's privileges will be seen to arise. Were they good in law before the passing of the Act of 1690? If so, why was parliamentary confirmation needed? Why were the Company's privileges confirmed by Parliament while those of the Royal African Company were statutorily destroyed and those of the East India Company made the subject of a major constitutional clash between William III and the House of Commons? And what was the status of the Hudson's Bay Company's privileges after the expiry of the Act? Not all of these questions can be confidently determined on the evidence available, but it may be possible to suggest answers to some of them.

The legality of monopolies granted by the Crown to overseas trading corporations has been the subject of comment both in connexion with the Hudson's Bay Company and in more general terms.¹ Between the Restoration and the Revolution, the charters issued by Charles II and James II were criticized by those who believed that monopolies of all kinds were restrictive and obsolete, by those who opposed the royal prerogative from which monopolies emanated, and by those whose private interests were frustrated. None of the companies erected in this period had statutory confirmation of their privileges: these derived from one source and one alone, the royal prerogative. "By virtue of our prerogative royal, which We will not in that behalf have argued or brought in question", Elizabeth I had granted a monopoly to the Levant Company,² and the same authority stood behind all the later companies. Their history is, therefore, to some extent entwined with the constitutional and political developments by which the royal prerogative was first challenged, and eventually curbed in some particulars and overthrown in others.

Two lawsuits dating from the closing years of Charles II help to clarify the legal position of monopolies granted to trading companies. The first is the case of the *Expectation alias Charles*, an interloper seized in 1683 under authority of the Hudson's Bay Company. Reference has been made to this case in earlier Introductions and the documents have

¹ *H.B.S.*, IX, xxi; *H.B.S.*, XI, xii-xiv; Holdsworth, *History of English Law*, Vols. IV and VI; Cooke, *Corporation Trust and Company*, Ch. IV.

² Carr, *Select Charters of Trading Companies*, p. 38.

been printed.¹ The owners of the ship brought an action in the High Court of Admiralty, pleading chiefly the existence of a prior grant to the Muscovy Company. Judgment was given for the Hudson's Bay Company. Before this verdict is accepted as a final pronouncement upon the legality of the Company's privileges, however, two considerations must be mentioned. In the first place, the Court of Admiralty was notoriously tender to the royal prerogative, and there is no doubt that the owners of the *Expectation* would have much preferred to begin their suit in a court of common law. Many years later, in 1698, they petitioned Parliament for leave to do so.² Unfortunately for them, the Admiralty Court was without any question the appropriate place for the action since both the seizure and the sinking of their ship had occurred on the high seas; there were no grounds at all for making the case a test of the Company's privileges at common law. Secondly, the owners of the interloper later claimed (and perhaps with reason) that they had been inhibited by the political climate of the time. "Prerogative", they said, "running so high in the late Reigns, that the Proprietors hardly daring to call the Ship their own, they had no means left them to redress themselves, but to refer themselves to the Company".³ That the law courts in the reigns of Charles II and James II were unduly influenced by consideration for the prerogative is a charge commonly brought and not difficult to substantiate. The owners of the *Expectation*, though defeated in 1684, must be regarded as dissatisfied litigants who were likely to take any opportunity that presented itself to renew their challenge. Such an opportunity arose after the Revolution, in 1690 and again in 1698, and they proved a thorn of some importance in the Company's side.

The second case, the *East India Company v. Sandys* in 1684, did not involve the Hudson's Bay Company but provides a number of important analogies. Sandys was an interloper who had traded in the East and an action was brought against him by the East India Company. The trial took place in the Court of King's Bench, and the interest of the case lies in the determination of the attitude of the common law (as opposed to the Court of Admiralty) to foreign-trading monopolies based on the royal prerogative.⁴ The arguments on both sides were lengthy and learned; three future Chief Justices as well as the Attorney-General and Solicitor-General appeared as counsel. The history of joint-stock companies, monopoly, state-control of economic matters, and relations with non-Christian peoples, was traversed. All parties recognized that,

¹ *H.B.S.*, IX, 263 et seq.

² *The CASE of The Owners and Proprietors of the Ship and Goods, CHARLES....*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Cobbett's *State Trials*, X, 371 et seq.

along with other issues, the royal prerogative was on trial, and the judges were unanimous in their decision to uphold it. It was a victory not only for the East India Company but for all privileged trading corporations. Their status now seemed entirely clear ; unless and until the judges changed their minds or an Act of Parliament was passed, their monopolies were in principle part of the law of the land.

Prerogative at this time was enjoying an Indian summer, and the verdict in the Sandys' case (like those in other famous lawsuits of the time) cannot be divorced from politics. Its durability depended upon the preservation of the political conditions prevailing in the last years of Charles II, and in December 1688 those conditions were dramatically transformed by the flight of James II. But before the consequences of these "surprizing changes" (as the Hudson's Bay Company termed them) can be discussed, reference must be made to events occurring in the previous summer. The captains of ships sent to the Bay in June 1688 were ordered if they met interlopers, to "Seize on them in pursuance of the Power given us by his Maties. Letters Patents and of his Maties. late Proclamacion prohibiteing Interlopers".¹ In the previous January advice had reached the Company from Amsterdam of a proposed interloping expedition :² in the following March a royal proclamation against infringements of the Company's privileges had been sought and granted, and it is to this instrument that the letters of 1688 refer.³ The prospective interloper was the *Mary*, and amongst those concerned in her were several former employees of the Company. A letter received from Cork refers to a second vessel, the *Humphrey & Thomas alias Rainbow* of forty tons, which was expected to accompany the *Mary*. Whether she eventually proceeded is not known, but the *Mary* certainly sailed and was met in Hudson Strait in August by two of the Company's ships. The captains' orders required them to seize her, but she was in such distress in the ice that she sank the day after her crew were taken off.⁴ This was a very fortunate accident for the Company. Had the *Mary* been seaworthy, she and her cargo would have been seized, and the Company would in all probability have faced actions for damages after the Revolution. As it was, the fate of the interloper provided invaluable evidence to support the contention that hit-or-miss private ventures to the Bay were futile and uneconomical.⁵

The effects of the Revolution upon trading privileges deriving from the royal prerogative are not easily summarized ; the experience of each of the three major corporations was different. In the case of the East

¹ See p. 27.

² A.1/10, fos. 8d., 9.

³ See pp. 15, 27, 29, 41, 44, 49.

⁴ See p. 81.

⁵ In *Hudsons-Bay-Company* [1690].

India Company, the Revolution came at the end of a decade in which monopoly had become increasingly and blatantly identified with the royal prerogative, Toryism and the Stuart line. The flight of James II removed its principal protector and within a year the House of Commons had begun to discuss plans for a new company.¹ These discussions continued intermittently until 1698 when a settlement was reached. The clearest exposition of the constitutional issues involved occurred in 1693 when William and Mary issued a fresh charter to the company, only to be frustrated by the famous resolution of the House of Commons "that all the subjects of England have equal right to trade to the East Indies unless prohibited by Act of Parliament". This clash and the eventual constitution by Parliament of the New Company show that prerogative in the post-Revolutionary period could no longer sustain an unpopular monopoly.

The Royal African Company, though less obviously a battleground for political faction, had likewise been dependent upon royal prerogative and closely connected with James II. Within a few days of the flight of the King and without waiting for a decision from Parliament or the courts, this company quietly abandoned its claim to seize interlopers by virtue of its royal charter.² For the next nine years private traders had access to the African trade while the company strove unsuccessfully to persuade Parliament to renew its privileges on a statutory basis. In 1698 (the year in which the New East India Company was created and in which Parliament, after discussion, failed to renew the statutory privileges of the Hudson's Bay Company) the Act for settling the trade to Africa was passed: thereby private persons were permitted to trade to Africa on payment of a contribution towards the maintenance of the African Company's forts.

In the decade following the Revolution, therefore, the monopolistic privileges of the two major joint-stock trading corporations of the Restoration were attacked and overthrown. Both the expectations and the experiences of the Hudson's Bay Company were somewhat different. The African Company, as we have seen, immediately perceived the consequences of the flight of the King; the Hudson's Bay Company either failed to foresee these consequences or else took the view that the political changes of 1688 would have no effects upon its own status. In the summer following the Revolution, the Company issued orders to its captains, not less, but more menacing than in the previous year: they were instructed to seize interlopers and their ships and "to Send their

¹ Hunter, *History of British India*, II, 305 et seq.

² Davies, *Royal African Company*, p. 123.

persons onely into England, where they shall bee Severely prosecuted as Contemnners of the King's authority and Violaters of the Rights and Priviledges granted by his Matie."¹ This was, to say the least, an unwise moment to assert such a claim. After the Revolution the other chartered companies were facing not only the possibility of losing their exclusive privileges through parliamentary action but also penalties for having exercised them in the past in the shape of actions for damages by aggrieved interlopers whose ships and goods had been seized.² The Hudson's Bay Company was lucky in having seized only the *Expectation*, but within a few months of the departure of James II persons concerned in that ship began actions against the Company. In the same month that Ford and Edgcombe were ordered to seize interlopers, the Committee authorized the payment of £200 to buy off these actions.³ Any possible consequences of the Company's rashness were, however, averted by French privateers: Ford, instead of catching interlopers, was himself taken and Edgcombe was forced to return to England.

It is not clear from the Minutes when the seeking of parliamentary sanction for the Company's charter was first mooted. On April 3, 1690, the Deputy Governor produced to the Committee a draft petition to be presented to Parliament for leave to bring in a bill.⁴ Four days later this petition was before the House of Commons together with a paper entitled "The Case of the Hudson's Bay Company".⁵ The "Case" may be summarized as follows: first, it was claimed that the Company's status differed from that of the East India or African Companies in that the King possessed in the Bay an inherent right of dominion and propriety, the Company being his tenant in free socage; secondly, since 1670 the Company had lost thirteen ships⁶ and been at a charge of

¹ See p. 67.

² Davies, *Royal African Company*, p. 124.

³ A.1/11, fo. 20d.

⁴ A.1/12, fo. 13.

⁵ A.9/4, fos. 13d.-15. The "Case" was sent to all Members of Parliament (A.1/12, fo. 13d.); a printed copy entitled *Hudsons-Bay-Company* is preserved in Brit. Mus. 816 m.11 (103).

⁶ The ships were:

1678 <i>Shaftesbury</i> *	(w)	1686 <i>Happy Return</i> †	(w)
1680 <i>Prudent Mary</i> †	(w)	1686 <i>Craven</i>	(c)
1682 <i>Prince Rupert</i>	(w)	1686 <i>Hayes</i>	(c)
1682 <i>James</i>	(w)	1689 <i>Huband</i>	(c)
1685 <i>Perpetuana</i>		1689 <i>Yonge</i>	(c)
<i>Merchant</i> †	(c)	1689 <i>Churchill</i>	(c)
1685 <i>Success</i> †	(w)	1689 <i>Northwest Fox</i>	(c)

* borrowed from the King

(w)—wrecked

† chartered

(c)—captured by the French.

£200,000 in the development of the trade ; thirdly, it had suffered more by French depredations than any other corporation ; fourthly, interlopers who had infringed the Company's privileges had not benefited themselves, the recent example of the *Mary* being cited ; and finally, if French competition and aggression were to be resisted, a strong joint stock was essential. Leave was thereupon given for a bill to be brought in and, after the first and second readings, it was committed on April 28.¹ At this stage, two petitions against the Company were heard. On the day the bill was committed the Company of Feltmakers of London entered a plea that the confirmation of monopoly would ruin the Russia trade and be a great hindrance to felt-making in England, and a week later the owners of the *Expectation* presented the first of their petitions for redress. Both were sent to the committee, but on May 10 it reported that it had agreed to the bill with amendments.² These amendments are presumably embodied in the clauses in the Act by which the Company was bound to hold at least two public sales of coat beaver each year and, in intervals between sales, not to sell by private contract at prices lower than those at which beaver had last been publicly offered. Three days after this report, another petition was presented against the Company, by several merchants of London trading to New York and New England. Their request to be heard by counsel was not, however, granted.³ On the same day the Commons divided on the question of the term of years for which the Charter should be confirmed : on a motion for 7 years, 80 voted in favour and 112 against. A term of fourteen years was then agreed upon and the bill sent to the Lords.

Its passage through the Upper House was even swifter. On May 14 it was committed, only one petition being presented against it. The merchants trading to New York and New England, having failed in the Commons, tried again in the Lords.⁴ They represented the great possibilities of the fur trade and expressed surprise at a bill "to establish a boundless charter with sovereign power granted by Charles II to the Hudson's Bay Company (a small number of men with an inconsiderable stock and no ways serviceable to the nation) upon a mistaken suggestion that they would discover a new passage into the South Seas". The establishment of this monopoly, they alleged, would deprive the colonies of the fur trade and settle the French interest in those parts. The Company was defended in committee by Sergeant Thompson and Mr.

¹ Stock, *Proceedings . . . of the British Parliaments respecting North America*, [1689-1702], II, 21-2.

² *Ibid.*, II, 24.

³ *Ibid.*, II, 24-5.

⁴ *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, XIII, Appendix V, p. 73.

Squib, and the report to the House on May 15 was favourable ; the term of fourteen years was, however, changed back to seven, and in this form the bill received the royal assent on May 20.

The business was thus concluded in six weeks with little difficulty or expense.¹ The Company had every reason to be satisfied : now (or at least until the expiry of the Act) no shadow of doubt could fall upon the legality of its privileges. Conveying the news to Governor Geyer, the Committee wrote : " whatsoever was eluded as Prerogative only before is now the Law of our Land & as such to bee enforced which exceeds all Proclamations." ²

Contrasting the outcome of the Company's application to Parliament with the troubles of the East India and Royal African Companies, we are bound to seek for explanation of this special treatment. The Company in its " Case " gave priority to the argument that the Charter of 1670 differed from those granted to the other corporations in making the Bay an English colony and itself a body of proprietors comparable to, say, the Lords Proprietors of Carolina rather than to a purely commercial body like the Royal African Company. If this claim could be established, the Hudson's Bay Company would enjoy an exclusive trade in virtue of its propriety in the lands of the Bay. In the Charter the lands donated had been clearly stated to be " henceforth reckoned and reputed as one of our Plantacions or Colonyes in America ", the Company holding in free socage as of the manor of East Greenwich. That this was not in fact an entirely empty formula is shown by the letters of 1688. In the first place, Governor Marsh, Captain Bond and Captain Young were ordered to seize, under the Acts of Trade, ships of foreign nations found trading in the Bay.³ Secondly, royal commissions as well as commissions from the Company were obtained for Governors Geyer and Marsh.⁴ And thirdly, the use of the King's jack was enjoined upon the admiral of the Company's fleet " in token and recognition of his Maties. right to all those Seas ".⁵ These practices all support the argument that Hudson Bay was an English colony in law.

Nevertheless, it is doubtful if this argument could have withstood searching examination immediately after the Revolution. To begin with, the Company's status was not as distinctive as it supposed. In 1668, for example, Charles II had granted Bombay (his wedding-present

¹ The Deputy Governor was authorized to spend £107 10s. 0d. " in the Companies Busines . . . in Parliament ", and Thomas Chambers was authorized to spend £90 (A.1/12, fos. 15, 16d.).

² See p. 100.

³ See pp. 27-8 41, 44.

⁴ See pp. 30-2.

⁵ See p. 47.

from Portugal and thus his own property) to the East India Company in free socage at a rent of £10 a year, and later added the right to coin money there. In 1673 he granted St. Helena to the same Company, also in free socage.¹ It would not be easy to make a clear distinction between the status of the Hudson's Bay Company in the Bay and that of the East India Company in these two places. Furthermore, admitting that the Hudson's Bay Company had been intended as a proprietary colony of settlement, it had clearly failed to carry out this intention. In practice it was no more a colonizing corporation than the Royal African Company and rather less of one than the East India Company. The legal argument might thus have fallen to the ground had economic pressure been strong enough.

The confirmation of the Hudson's Bay Company's Charter is to be explained chiefly by the absence of strong pressure of this kind. Setting aside the claims made upon the nation's gratitude for losses incurred and investment undertaken (by no means insubstantial arguments in themselves), the plain and compelling facts were that for the proper conduct of the trade permanent trading posts were needed and that the obvious way of keeping them in being was by a joint-stock company. The arguments under this heading were twofold. First, the forts were strategically vital in order to protect the trade from the French. This reasoning, though cogent, would not necessarily have carried the day. Parliament accepted the principle of the strategic value of forts in the African trade but nevertheless devised a plan in 1698 whereby private traders were admitted on payment of a contribution towards the upkeep of the forts.² A similar plan was put forward for Hudson Bay by the Company of Feltmakers in 1698.³ But in this trade, unlike the African, forts were needed not only for defence but for the transaction of business, and in this argument lay the real strength of the Company's case. The facts that the Indians were dispersed and that the Bay was navigable for only three months in the year made permanent posts indispensable *for trade* in a way that could not be urged of either West Africa or the Far East. Interlopers had succeeded in Africa and could operate profitably in India, at least in the "country trade"; in the Bay their efforts had failed. Parliament's attitude towards monopoly was, after all, more empirical than doctrinaire; it opposed *royal* monopolies on principle, but it was prepared to erect monopolies of its own where the

¹ Hunter, *History of British India*, II, 196, 200.

² 9 and 10 Wm. III, c. 26.

³ *CASE of the FELT-MAKERS*.... The date of this printed sheet is clearly 1698.

economic arguments for them were strong enough and the opposition weak.

The opponents of the Hudson's Bay Company, both mercantile and others, were fewer and far less formidable than those ranged against the other companies. The Feltmakers were by no means a rich or influential body, compared for example to the West Indian planters who opposed the African Company. There was no opposition from English manufacturing interests such as that which faced the East India Company. The colonies concerned, New York and New England, raised no direct objection to the bill ; the merchants of London trading there who appeared against the Company were few and unimportant. Above all, there was no large and vocal body of traders who in the past had illicitly visited the Bay or longed to try their hands at it. Parliament, in considering the future of the East India and African trades, could take into account the existence of ready-made alternatives to the established management ; in the trade to the Bay they could find only the disgruntled owners of the *Expectation* and the humiliated crew of the *Mary* stuck fast in the ice.

The passing of the Act confirming the Charter did not mean that the Company disappeared from the notice of the legislature. The Act, as we have seen, laid down conditions for the conduct of sales, and in 1692 the Feltmakers petitioned the House of Commons that these conditions were not being observed.¹ A committee was set up to investigate the charges and reported in terms plainly adverse to the Company. It found that beaver had been sold privately at rates cheaper than those at which it had been publicly offered and that beaver sold to contractors at 8s. 2d. a lb. had been publicly sold for the contractors at prices up to 11s. 8d.² The Act which forbade these practices imposed no penalty upon the Company for non-performance, and on February 5, 1692, a bill to compel observance was introduced. No further progress was made in this session and at the end of the year the Feltmakers renewed their attack. The bill was again read a first time, but on the question whether it should be proceeded with was lost by 119 votes to 56.³

The Act of 1690 endured for seven years. The question of the Company's privileges after its expiry and the Parliamentary discussions thereupon thus fall outside the scope of this volume. One point may, however, be made. The orders given by the Committee to their captains in each year from 1690 to 1696 include an instruction to seize

¹ Stock, *Proceedings . . . of the British Parliaments respecting North America* [1689-1702], II, 52-3.

² *Ibid.*, II, 54.

³ *Ibid.*, II, 63-4.

English ships and subjects found trading contrary to the Company's rights. In 1697 and in subsequent years this instruction does not appear. That it should have been dropped when the protection of Parliament was withdrawn seems entirely consistent with Adam Smith's belief that in the eighteenth century the Company "enjoyed an exclusive trade, in fact, though they may have no right to it in law".¹

IV

The crises in the Company's history so far considered were dramatic and obvious : the stakes were the future of the monopoly and the future of the English in Hudson Bay. Nevertheless, the evident weakness of the Company in the last years of the seventeenth century was due in large measure to less apparent factors. For the war of 1689-97 not only necessitated costly offensive and defensive operations both on land and at sea ; it also coincided with (and partly caused) a drastic alteration in the terms of the Company's trade. Many of the goods essential for the commerce of the Bay were costlier to buy and all were dearer to transport, while the price of beaver, instead of following the general upward swing of the war-years, fell to little more than half its pre-war average. Either change by itself would have made a serious dent in the Company's profits ; both together annihilated them.

From the low levels prevailing at the time of the Company's formation, the price of beaver had risen considerably in the following years. In 1672, for example, prices of 7s. or 8s. a lb. were obtained, no distinction being made between one type and another.² Ten years later, coat beaver (skins greased through being worn by Indians) was selling for about 13s. and parchment (dry, ungreaed) for 8s. 6d.³ About the middle of the 'eighties, however, a decline set in. In 1686, for example, the Committee wrote of the decay of trade "both in the Intrado of our Cargos home & in the fall of the price of Beavor here".⁴ Foreign beaver was not admitted to this country but, since English beaver was exported to the Continent, London prices were influenced by supply and demand in Europe. It is, therefore, reasonable to attribute the weakness of beaver to large increases in the annual supply from French Canada.⁵ The demand for beaver both in France and in Europe at large was, as a

¹ Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, II, 235.

² *H.B.S.*, V, xxxii, 39n.

³ *H.B.S.*, IX, 47.

⁴ *H.B.S.*, XI, 193 ; cf. p. 181.

⁵ Innis, *Fur Trade in Canada*, p. 70. The annual supply rose from about 90,000 lbs. in 1675-85 to 140,000 lbs. in 1685-87.

contemporary put it, "limited to a certain consumption beyond which there is no sale and the beaver remains a pure loss to those charged with the conduct of the trade".¹ Even so, the fall in the price of beaver in London, though noticeable, was not yet disastrous. In March 1688, for example, coat was offered at 11s. a lb. and parchment at 8s., though many lots remained unsold.² Until this time parchment beaver had fetched much less than coat, but in 1689 a complete reversal took place. In April, parchment was offered at 13s. and coat at 11s.³ Again, there do not seem to have been many buyers, but in June the Company sold a large quantity of parchment to Thomas Glover at 12s.⁴ With coat selling at 11s. 2d. in July of the same year,⁵ there was little cause for complaint. Coat had fallen, but not much, while parchment had advanced by about fifty per cent.

These prices continued to rule in 1689 : in December twenty lots of parchment (7,200 skins) were put up at 13s., thirteen of them being sold.⁶ But in the later part of 1690 or early in the following year, a slump began. In March 1691 the Company was offered only 8s. a lb. for parchment and, though this was at first refused, it was accepted in June.⁷ The buyer on this occasion was again Thomas Glover, who thus acquired his beaver at exactly two-thirds the price he had paid two years earlier. Worse was to come : hitherto parchment had only returned to its pre-war price. But in the next three years it went a good deal lower while the price of coat, nearly fifty per cent. above parchment in 1688, went lower still. In April 1692 Glover offered 6s. 2d. a lb. for coat and parchment together, though the Committee preferred to put them up for public auction at 5s. and 6s.⁸ Similar setting-up prices were fixed in April 1693 and February 1694,⁹ and even at such low levels sales were by no means satisfactory. In May 1694, for example, only two lots of coat were sold and no parchment.¹⁰ Meanwhile beaver was pouring into the country : in two years, 1693 and 1694, the Company's ships brought back over 150,000 skins compared to about 140,000 in the five years 1688-92.¹¹ Nevertheless, the first sign of a partial recovery can be glimpsed in June 1694 when beaver for re-export was sold to Henry Summers at 7s ; he took another consignment in April following at 7s. 6d.¹² No beaver came from the Bay in 1695 and the

¹ Ibid., p. 73, quoting a French source.

² A.1/10, fo. 13, 13d.

³ A.1/11, fo. 15.

⁴ Ibid., fo. 24d.

⁵ Ibid., fo. 27d.

⁶ Ibid., fo. 37 ; A.1/12, fo. 4.

⁷ A.1/13, fos. 11, 21, 21d.

⁸ A.1/14, fo. 14d.

⁹ A.1/15, fo. 17 ; A.1/16, fo. 11.

¹⁰ A.1/16, fo. 19d.

¹¹ A.14/3.

¹² A.1/16, fos. 22d.-23 ; A.1/17, fo. 9.

improvement continued with coat fetching 8*s.* 2*d.* in August.¹ At the end of the period of these letters, the Committee were offering coat at 9*s.* and parchment at 10*s.* 6*d.*,² though it should be said that at these prices beaver did not always go off easily. Nevertheless, a genuine, if incomplete, recovery from the slump of 1691-94 had taken place.

The letters included in this volume contain many indications of the deplorable condition of trade. In 1692 the Committee referred to "the incredible Lownesse of Beavor here for want of Vent & a free Trade";³ in 1694 Knight was informed that "since we have Imported great quantitys of Beavr. it is become a drugg & sells at a very low rate";⁴ and in 1695 the large stock of furs in the Company's warehouse and the dullness of the London market were the reasons for sending no ships to the Bay.⁵ The new preference for parchment is also reflected in orders to buy more of it and less coat.⁶ "The trade is quite turned here in Europe", the Committee wrote in 1690, "& Skin or Parchment Beavor is More now in Request for trade, & coate Beavor Little".⁷ The Company's servants were to encourage the Indians to wear cloth instead of beaver; thereby a double benefit would accrue, increased Indian demand and larger supplies of parchment instead of coat.

While the price of beaver was falling, the price of some of the commodities the Company sent to the Bay was going up. The effects of this must not be exaggerated, for the total volume of exports was small and the price of some goods advanced little. Nevertheless, when coupled with the fall in beaver, this dearness contributed to the worsening of trading prospects.

Although miscellaneous in the extreme,⁸ including provisions and all necessaries for the garrison, the Company's trading exports were chiefly made up of the small number of items which entered seriously into Indian calculations. While the Committee were willing to experiment, as with the "jointed babie" sent to the Bay in 1690, it was only in the export of the traditional requirements of North America (guns, hatchets, tobacco) that the Hudson Bay trade made the slightest impact upon English manufactures. The following table shows that exports even of these items were small:⁹

¹ A.1/17, fo. 15*d.* ² A.1/18, fo. 26*d.* ³ See p. 121. ⁴ See. p. 232.

⁵ See p. 275. Other references to the bad state of trade are at pp. 115, 190, 231, 235-6.

⁶ See p. 61.

⁷ See p. 98.

⁸ B.239/d/5, fos. 70*d.*-71, has an "Alphabet" of stores and trading goods from "Augures" to "Yawles". There are two hundred and eleven items.

⁹ Compiled from A.24/1.

	<i>Guns</i>	<i>Hatchets</i>	<i>Shot</i> in cwt.	<i>Tobacco</i> ¹ in cwt.
1687	1,110	1,500	350	2 hogsheads
1688	150	401	—	20
1689 ²	[30]	[560]	[44]	[14]
1690	203	560	94	14
1691	1,106	2,028	133	14 plus 2 hhds.
1692	824	1,800	75 plus 140 barrels	45 plus 2 hhds.
1693	775	20	175	12
1694	560	1,600	195	94
1695	—	—	—	—
1696	673	2,170	173 plus 400 barrels	15

Three at least of these were commodities which, it might be supposed, would be affected by war-conditions : guns and shot for obvious reasons, and tobacco because it had to be obtained from abroad and thus bore increased freight charges. The Company's early experiments with Virginian tobacco seem to have been abandoned in 1685 when the French practice of trading Brazilian tobacco was adopted.³ How important this commodity was in the trade of the Bay may be judged by events in 1691. The ship bringing the tobacco from Portugal did not arrive until the day after the Company's fleet had been seen off at Gravesend : the Deputy Governor and some of the Committee rushed the tobacco ashore, into Customs, out of Customs and down-river, all in the day, in an attempt to catch the ships before they left the Thames Estuary.⁴ Tobacco was not the only commodity to be affected by war : French brandy (again for obvious reasons) was scarce and expensive. "Particularly to be spareing", the Committee wrote in 1691, "in your Flints (tho' it seemes a very small thing) and in your brandy, they being both French Commodities and hard to come by".⁵ Good brandy was 10s. a gallon in 1692,⁶ and in 1693 the Committee wrote that none was being imported, though a black market existed on which it was "privately sould" at prices of up to 12s. a gallon.⁷ Cloth and blankets were less directly affected by the war, but this provided little relief. Consignments

¹ Tobacco figures are approximate.

² Owing to the loss of the *Northwest Fox* and the enforced return of the *Royal Hudson's Bay* none of these goods reached the Bay.

³ *H.B.S.*, XI, 142.

⁴ *A.1/13*, fo. 20.

⁵ See p. 121.

⁶ See p. 143.

⁷ See p. 190.

to the Bay were minute, the eighty pieces of cloth and ninety blankets sent out in 1694 being well above average.¹

Much larger quantities of provisions were exported. Thus in the years 1687-97 well over one hundred tons of flour went to the Bay besides beef, pork, malt, oatmeal and peas.² Here, too, the Company was the victim of circumstances beyond its control. Food prices in the 'seventies and especially in the 'eighties had been generally low, but a series of bad harvests began in 1692.³ Particularly in 1693 the Company felt the pinch: all provisions, runs a letter of that year, "are excessive Deare all over Europe Especially all sorts of Grayne wch. are double the price they ware last yeare . . . Such unseasonable weather we have had and like to continue that we are in great feare of a Dearth all over Europe".⁴

Much of the Committee's policy in these years was directed towards escaping from the predicament just outlined, the cheapness of beaver and the dearness of almost everything else. Nothing could be done to reduce the cost of trading goods and provisions, but the price of beaver was susceptible to some influence. The attempts to raise it artificially have been fully described,⁵ and it is here necessary only to indicate the two main lines on which the Company worked. In the first place, it sought to manipulate the market in London to its own advantage. This began, mildly, in 1688 when the sale of furs brought home the previous year was purposely delayed in order to stimulate demand.⁶ In 1689 stronger measures were taken: in particular, the practice of selling furs by public auction was modified and sales by private treaty extended. In June 1690 an auction of especially questionable propriety took place. One buyer, Thomas Glover, bought all the furs on offer, an eventuality difficult to explain without the collusion which the guardedly-worded Minutes themselves imply.⁷ As a result the Company netted a substantial sum of money, but at the cost of serious divisions within its own ranks. The chief dissidents were Thomas Chambers and Samuel Foote, both members of the Committee, and the target of their hostility was the Deputy Governor, Sir Edward Dering. An extraordinary General Court to consider the matter was held on August 8, 1690, despite a message from the Governor adjourning it to a later date. Chambers, Foote and five others walked out in defiance of Dering's

¹ A.24/1.

² Ibid.

³ Rogers, *History of Agriculture and Prices in England* [1583-1702], V, 231.

⁴ See p. 186.

⁵ Rich, *Russia and the Colonial Fur Trade*.

⁶ Ibid., p. 321.

⁷ A.1/12, fos. 23, 23d., 24.

order not to withdraw ; the rump thereupon voted Chambers' complaints to be frivolous and malicious.¹

As a result of this meeting and of the annual General Court on November 20 following,² the Chambers faction was routed and the Deputy Governor more firmly established in the saddle than before. Chambers was dismissed from the Committee, his money for attendances declared forfeit, and his stock temporarily immobilized. As a consequence of insisting on holding the meeting in August against Marlborough's wishes, the Deputy Governor vindicated his right to summon General Courts ; for one year the major part of the Committee (provided he was of the majority) was empowered to impose fines, suspend from the Committee, immobilize stock and cause securities to be taken from members of the Company. Finally, the rule made in 1689 that no Deputy Governor should continue in office for longer than two years nor Committee member for longer than three was rescinded, thus enabling Dering (to whom plate of solid gold worth two hundred guineas had been voted) to be re-elected. The by-law requiring sales to be by public auction was also repealed for one year. Chambers made a last effort to make trouble in July 1691 when he, with Foote and one Robert Masters, "in an Indecent manner Rushed into the Committee Room & . . . made some demands upon the Company" ; at the next General Court he was given permission to register the transfer of his stock, but his claim to Committee money and other sums was rejected.³

The storm was thus weathered. Nevertheless, the Company was playing a dangerous game, the long-term consequences of which were likely to be deleterious. It was now much more in the public eye than previously ; it was, so to speak, on seven years' probation. The Act of 1690 had made specific rules about the sale of coat beaver and the Company was flouting them. This might have been done with impunity under the wing of prerogative, but in the post-Revolutionary era the Company was accountable to Parliament. There was, it is true, no penalty for breach of the Act, but what had been given by statute could likewise be taken away. The Company's conduct was in fact brought to the notice of Parliament in 1692 and roundly condemned in the report of a committee of investigation, as we have seen. Again, in 1698 fraudulent sales constituted one of the charges brought against the Company by the Feltmakers during parliamentary discussions of the renewal of the Charter.⁴ They may thus have contributed something

¹ Ibid., fos. 26d.-27d.

² A.1/13, fos. 2d.-3.

³ A.1/13, fo. 21d. ; A.1/14, fo. 3-3d.

⁴ *CASE of the FELT-MAKERS*. . . The date of this sheet is clearly 1698.

to the inconclusive and (from the Company's point of view) unsatisfactory outcome of these proceedings.

The second expedient for raising the price of beaver in London was to stimulate the re-export of furs. Beaver had for many years past been sold to private merchants for the European market. Now, under the stress of depression and especially after the large imports of 1693 and 1694, the Company had to take direct action. The rigged auction of 1690 is almost certainly part of this action, for Thomas Glover was a leading exporter of furs: selling large quantities to him instead of releasing it among the London feltmakers was an obvious way of supporting domestic prices. But by 1694 more effective measures were called for. In that year, 10,300 skins were sold to Henry Summers on the guarantee that they would be re-exported to Archangel,¹ and at the same time the Company began to export on its own account. By March 1696, about 50,000 skins had been shipped abroad.² Some went to Hamburg and Amsterdam, but the greater part was sent either directly or indirectly to Russia. In 1695 Charles Goodfellow was appointed the Company's agent in Russia, and the large salary (£200 a year) given to him shows how much was hoped from this venture.³ The Committee's belief that 50-60,000 skins could be sold yearly in Russia never approached realization, but the improvement in the price of beaver in London after 1694 owes something to these re-exports.

The letters contained in this volume have little to tell us about the Company's activities in London, but its efforts to improve the terms of trade in the Bay provide a principal theme of the documents. These efforts were not uniformly successful, but they merit consideration both as symptoms of the Company's predicament and as tokens of the refusal of the Committee to lie down under the blows of war and depression. They go a little way towards clearing the Company of the charge of sluggishness which Adam Smith regarded as an inevitable accompaniment of joint-stock management.

The first and most obvious way of meeting the depression was to try to raise the "standard of trade", that is, the tariff prescribing the rate of exchange between furs and European goods. Beaver being depressed, trading goods dear and transportation costs inflated, this was entirely reasonable from the Company's point of view and every principal letter sent to the Bay between 1688 and 1696 included orders to this end. The early history of the standard is obscure, but for the purpose of explaining what the Company was trying to do in this period we may

¹ A.1/16, fos. 22d., 23.

² A.14/5. See also A.17/1.

³ See p. 256.

begin in 1684. Governor Nixon had then recently lowered the standard, and the Committee's comments provide useful information as to what they expected to receive. High quality goods were sent to the Bay in that year and Nixon's orders were to "advance those goods above the Standard, as our $3\frac{1}{2}$ foote guns to 9 beavors our 4 foote to 10 skins & the $4\frac{1}{2}$ foote to 11. & the 5 foote 12 skins".¹ Even better prices were expected for some particularly good guns. The same letter shows that as well as lowering the rate of exchange of beaver to goods, Nixon had altered the rates of other furs to beaver. Four marten skins instead of eight now passed for one beaver, and one moose for a beaver instead of two.² One of the Committee's aims in sending Radisson to the Bay in 1685 was to settle the standard, and presumably to revise Nixon's work.³ Exactly what Radisson accomplished does not emerge but it seems to have given satisfaction, for in 1688 Geyer was ordered to keep "to the Standard, that Mr. Radisson agreed to, but withall to give the Indians all manner of Content".⁴

The increased costs imposed by war and the deepening depression in beaver, however, soon rendered Radisson's standard obsolete. Letters to Geyer in 1690, 1691 and 1692 all refer to the worsening conditions of trade and urge him to use every opportunity to raise the standard.⁵ The "great Losses", "the many hazards wee Run through in these times of danger" and "the extrordinary expense wee are now at" together "Tribles the Charge of former years". Nevertheless, in each letter the Committee was careful to leave the final decision to Geyer, recognizing that local conditions had to be taken into account and, above all, that by asking for too much they might drive the Indians into the arms of the French. By 1692 they were insisting that the Indians should not be discontented, "hoping to recover our present loosing trade when it shall please God to send A happy & generall Peace In Europe".⁶ Present profits were thus to be sacrificed for the sake of goodwill.

The recovery of the Bottom of the Bay brought further problems connected with the standard, York and Albany falling into competition with one another. In 1693 both places were ordered to raise their standards, though with the usual proviso leaving action to the governors' discretion. Geyer was asked to get two more skins per gun and so proportionally and was advised to make larger presents to the leading Indians in order to make the change acceptable,⁷ while Knight was

¹ *H.B.S.*, XI, 121.

² *Ibid.*, p. 121.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

⁴ See p. 14.

⁵ See pp. 96, 114, 138.

⁶ See p. 138.

⁷ See p. 186.

treated to a series of arguments to show that he ought to trade at a higher rate.¹ The Indians trading at Albany had less distance to travel than those who visited York, and settlements at the Bottom of the Bay were less self-sufficient and thus costlier to keep up. These facts, together with more general arguments about increased costs due to war, were to be brought to the notice of the Indians to convince them that at Albany goods could be no cheaper than at York. All the same, Knight does seem to have undersold Geyer, provoking complaints that trade would be drawn off from York.² Without giving specific orders, the Committee urged him to reconsider the matter and act best for their interests, and at the same time refused Walsh permission to alter the standard at York.³ This incipient rivalry was, however, soon cut short by Iberville.

The evidence of the letters, therefore, suggests that repeated exhortation had little effect. Fortunately it can be supplemented by the York Factory Account Books, some of which have survived.⁴ They permit, first, a comparison between the standard in 1691-92 and that aspired to in the letter to Nixon in 1684. Guns of $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet were in 1691-92 rated at 10 skins, then at 9; those of 4 feet were now 12, then 10; and those of $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet were now 14, then 11. This improvement can perhaps be attributed to Radisson. Secondly, the Account Books suggest that the Company's servants, after 1688, were obtaining more skins for the goods traded than the rates of the current standard. The standard was, of course, no more than a general guide to rates of exchange. It laid down the average number of skins to be obtained; thus 20 guns of $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet ought to yield at least 200 skins, though it was not to be expected that each gun would be traded for exactly 10 skins. At the end of a year's trading, the number of skins which (on the standard) ought to have been taken was compared with the number in the warehouse and if the factors had traded above the standard a surplus or "overplus" would be shown. In each of the five years for which consolidated accounts have survived, York Fort showed an "overplus".⁵ Thus in the year 1691-92 the goods disposed of should have brought in 27,577 skins. "But", continues the accountant, "haveing for sundry reasons

¹ See pp. 205-6.

² See p. 230.

³ See p. 235.

⁴ B.239/d/1-5.

⁵ As follows:

1688-89	2,865 skins
1689-90	4,533 "
1690-91	5,186 "
1691-92	7,327 "
1693-94	15,399 "

this War time advanced upon the standard and traded dearer than usual I have outgone this Sum and delivered into the Warehousekeeper . . . Beaver, and other furs and skins made beaver to the Sum and value of 34,905.”¹ The “overplus” was, therefore, 7,327 skins, an advance on the standard of nearly a quarter. The “overplus” for 1693-94, the last trading year at York, was 15,399 on 28,353 skins, more than half.² We may thus conclude that the Company recovered from the Indians part, though by no means all, of the additional costs caused by war.

Another way of reaching the same end (more beaver for less or the same goods) was by effecting settlements in remoter regions and getting into touch with less sophisticated Indians who would pay higher prices. The Company had always hoped that its servants would carry out journeys of exploration and encourage fresh tribes to come to the waterside, but, Kelsey apart, little was achieved in this period. Kelsey's journeys are too well-known to need further comment here but, in the same connexion, we may notice the abortive attempts to establish the fur trade on the north-western shores of the Bay. This was the objective of Captain Ford in the *Northwest Fox* in 1689. The intention was to make contact with the Louzy Indians (who had little beaver) and the Dog-ribs (who were believed to have much). Ford was instructed to give no more for beaver than half of what was allowed at York Fort, a clear indication of the purpose of the venture. This expedition, as we have already seen, came to nothing.

The war and the fall in the price of beaver exposed the latent weakness of a trade dependent upon a single commodity. If beaver was profitless, there was no obvious alternative to fall back on. Nevertheless, something had to be done, and one of the recurring topics of the letters in this volume is the attempt to diversify the trade of the Bay. “Our Buisiness”, the Committee wrote in 1694, “is to find out new Comoditys”,³ and a stream of advice, suggestion and instruction flowed out from London. Not all of it betokened special knowledge on the part of the donors: thus in 1689, when whale-oil arrived in London, the Committee were so ignorant of its worth that the price demanded was far above the current value, and the sale had to be postponed.⁴ This is only one example of the Committee's endeavours to strike out in new directions. Years earlier, at the beginning of the 'eighties, they had been much exercised by the production of isinglass and had sent George Geyer to the Bay to supervise it.⁵ Interest had also been shown in small furs,

¹ B.239/d/4, fo. 48.

² B.239/d/5.

³ See p. 232.

⁴ A.1/11, fo. 37; A.1/12, fo. 4-4d.

⁵ H.B.S., XI, 76.

walrus tusks ("seahorse teeth") and minerals. But with the deepening depression in beaver in the late 'eighties and early 'nineties, the Committee released a spate of ideas for new commodities or the revival of old ones, whale-oil, turpentine, tar, castoreum, sealskins, drugs, dyes, paint, feathers for beds and quills, monk's rhubarb, copper, iron and others. All were exempt from the peculiar misfortunes of beaver and some, being stores of strategical importance, bore prices inflated by war.

The Committee hoped most from castoreum, a medicine for treating disease and especially palsey. This substance was believed to derive from the sacs or stones found in a beaver's back which the Indians normally threw away. In 1688 the Committee woke up to its potential value, and thereafter hardly a year went by without reference to it. "Encourage the Indians to it as much as possible", runs a letter of 1692, "& shew them what a trade and advantage it brings to them which before they neglected & flung away."¹ In the following year, preference was expressed for castoreum over coat beaver.² But either the Company's servants or the Indians failed to respond. To the Committee there seemed no reason why they should not receive twice as many stones as skins since "every Beavor Meale or Female has 2 of these stones in the Back"; but despite these repeated exhortations, only one sizeable consignment, 378 lbs. in 1694, was received.³

Oil, tar and turpentine were in brisk demand in war and therefore possible supplementaries to fur. With the last two the Company had no success beyond sample bottles, but a serious beginning was made with whale-fishing. It was with this intention that settlement was made at Churchill River in 1689, and ten tons of oil were obtained before the destruction of the house by fire. Despite this setback, the Committee continued to encourage whale-fishing. In 1693, for example, after reminding Geyer of the high price of oil, they gave a somewhat highly-coloured account of the work, intended to show him that "this is a plesure & all the men delight in taking them, making it a sport and not a Labor or toyle".⁴

Other furs did not share the depression which beset beaver, and such success as the Company found in its policy of diversification was chiefly in the promotion of the trade in "small furs", otter, fox, and especially marten. "They are a very Currant Comodity here & vendable tho the Quantity never soe great", the Committee wrote in 1694, "which is more then wee can say of Beavr. to our great sorrow."⁵ Nearly 10,000 martens were brought from the Bay between 1688 and 1694 and, while

¹ See p. 138.

² See p. 188.

³ A.14/5, fo. 158.

⁴ See p. 188.

⁵ See p. 236.

this total was dwarfed by shipments of beaver, it held some promise for the future. Annual returns of the principal furs were as follows :¹

	<i>Beaver</i>	<i>Marten</i>	<i>Otter</i>	<i>Fox</i>
1688	20,928	362	184	26
1689	27,201	325	188	16
1690	37,520	385	278	32
1691	28,117	124	120	—
1692	24,236	516	189	—
1693	92,117	3,483	849	87
1694	62,005	4,699	288	103

Martens apart, the stimulus to new trade was a failure. Less than 1,000 lbs. of castoreum was received in these years, 555 lbs. of feathers and only 6 buffalo skins. Minerals proved no better : one sample, on examination, vanished in smoke,² and another defied analysis.³ The Committee, however, remained optimistic : surely “in that vast tract of ground, You may find by the Indians or your owne industry, something that may turne to accompt”.⁴ But shortage of men, lack of tools, the climate, the French or just laziness always intervened : the Committee’s fancies were humoured by an occasional bottle of turpentine or box of monk’s rhubarb, but the step from experiment to production was not taken.

The revival of the Company’s campaign for local food-production can also be related to the urgent need for economy. In 1691 the period of good harvests in England came to an end, to be followed by a decade of bad years. In 1692 wheat was dearer than for the past fifteen years and, after the harvest of 1693, reached its second highest point of the century.⁵ Most of the other grains were similarly affected, and flour seems to have been especially dear. Despite the lack of success attending earlier attempts at food-growing in the Bay,⁶ elaborate instructions for the production of barley, oats, wheat, peas and beans were sent to Albany in 1693.⁷ There was talk of sending over cattle, though none was shipped. These efforts were not entirely fruitless, for in 1696 the Committee expressed satisfaction with Knight’s gardening : flax and barley had apparently done well, though wheat and hemp had failed.⁸ But, interesting as these experiments were, they did not go far and no sensible reduction was effected in the provisions to be sent to the Bay.

¹ Compiled from A.14/5.

² See p. 231.

³ See p. 272.

⁴ See p. 115.

⁵ Rogers, *History of Agriculture and Prices in England* [1583–1702], V, 231.

⁶ *H.B.S.*, XI, xxxiv–v.

⁷ See pp. 208–9.

⁸ See p. 272.

It is not easy to sum up the net results of all these attempts at economy. On the one hand, the policy of diversification and local provisioning met with little success worthy of note ; on the other hand, a definite improvement (from the Company's point of view) in the rate of exchange between English goods and beaver can be diagnosed. Some part of the large returns of 1693 and 1694 results from trading above the standard. But, since these large consignments served to lower prices even further, the consequences were not all gain. Indeed, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the Company's strivings in the Bay contributed little to the improvement of its situation. All that could be done was to sit tight and wait for forces beyond the Company's control to bring down the price of guns, shot, powder and food and to send up that of beaver.

V

Sooner or later the major events in the Company's history were bound to be reflected in the state of its finances, and it is to this subject that we turn for a final view of the fortunes of these years. In any discussion of seventeenth-century finance, certain general considerations have to be kept in mind. Despite important developments in banking and credit, financial knowledge was still rudimentary and financial policies (by later criteria) absurdly improvident. No balance sheets or profit and loss accounts of the Hudson's Bay Company have survived and it is morally certain that none save the crudest was compiled. The Company never knew with any accuracy what it was worth. Nor were shortcomings in accounting the only hazard. In practical finance there was an almost total lack of provision for contingencies, the affairs of companies being conducted on boundlessly (and sometimes groundlessly) optimistic assumptions. No reserve fund was accumulated and none ever considered. Dividends were declared with little thought for the future and insufficient knowledge of the past ; seldom can they be taken as accurate indications of a company's position or prospects. The Hudson's Bay Company (until 1688) revealed more, not less, prudence and financial acumen than its contemporaries, but it was nevertheless often short of ready cash. Its mistakes were the mistakes of its age. Those who governed its affairs, though they might know little of furs and the fur trade, knew as much of finance as it was then ordinarily possible to know ; when we consider the litter of failures with which the early history of joint-stock enterprise is strewn, we may conclude that they still did not know enough.

In the eighteen years preceding the letters in this volume the Company had paid only one dividend, fifty per cent. in 1684. The wisdom of this self-denial is beyond question : £10,500 had been an absurdly small sum with which to begin the venture and the only hope of survival had lain in the relentless ploughing back of profits. This must have been plain to everyone, and there is no evidence in these early years of pressure from the shareholders for a division of the profits. In the ordinary course of events the Company's financial position in 1688 would have been not merely sound but (by seventeenth-century standards) brilliant. Profits which an improvident body would have distributed had been re-invested in forts and the Company's earning potential greatly enlarged. Unhappily, as a result of French intervention, this was not the case. The seizure of ships, goods and forts in 1686 meant not only serious capital losses for the Company but also an immediate fall in its earning power which wiped out all or most of the beneficial consequences of restraint. The Company itself claimed that between 1682 and 1692 it suffered losses from French action amounting to more than £200,000.¹ This total includes a number of hypothetical items such as the loss of profits of £10,000 a year which would have accrued from the trade of the Bottom of the Bay, but even if real losses were only a half or a quarter of what was alleged they were still extremely serious. By 1688 a large part of the accumulated savings of the previous years had disappeared or, more accurately, been transformed into shadowy claims for compensation to be vainly pressed at the French Court.

It was at precisely this moment that the policy of dividend-restraint was abandoned. In July 1688, fifty per cent. was distributed,² and in September 1689 (despite the outbreak of war and the failure of the fleet of that year to reach the Bay) a further twenty-five per cent.³ While we should do well to avoid judging the wisdom of the Committee's policy solely in the light of future events, the financial history of the Company makes it fairly clear that these dividends were acts of faith. The coffers happened at certain moments to be reasonably well-filled and, without very serious thought either for the future or for repairing the losses of the recent past, the decision to declare a dividend was taken.

In 1690 the Company's position inside the country was strengthened by parliamentary confirmation of the Charter. But its external situation worsened. In the autumn of 1689 and following winter, definite news arrived of Marsh's complete failure at the Bottom of the Bay with the loss not only of Albany but of three ships. This humiliating setback was very far from deterring the Committee, and in September 1690

¹ *H.B.S.*, XI, 337-9.

² *A.1/10*, fo. 25d.

³ *A.1/11*, fo. 30d.

they proceeded to treble the Company's nominal capital and at the same time to declare yet another cash-dividend.

The trebling of the stock took place on September 3, 1690, and luckily a fairly full account of the proceedings has survived in the Minutes.¹ The idea of doubling or trebling the stock, it is stated, had been designed for a number of years, following the example of the East India Company in 1682. That Company, when reformed in 1657, had called up only half of the capital subscribed ; following a decade of prosperity, it resolved in 1682 to reckon the whole capital as paid up, or in effect to give shareholders a scrip dividend of one hundred per cent. The first matter for the Hudson's Bay Committee to decide, therefore, was whether this precedent should be followed or whether shareholders should be given twice as much stock as they possessed, the final decision being unanimously for the latter course. The nominal capital thus became £31,500.

Two questions concerning this transaction need to be answered, first, why it was embarked upon, and, secondly whether it was justified by the financial state of the Company at that time. All that we can know positively about the motive is contained in the words : "to make the stock of this Compa. as diffusive amongst their Maties. Subjects as possible, & more & more a Nationall Intrest". The meaning of this phrase can be inferred if the following facts are considered. The price of the stock in 1690 was 400 :² that was very satisfactory for the original shareholders but not an unqualified advantage in public relations. It might, for example, suggest that the Company was very much more prosperous than it really was : the envy of others could easily be aroused or Parliament might impose heavy taxes. With the stock at 400 a man of average means, would need to invest a substantial sum of money in order to become a member of the Company, for £100 was the qualification for a vote and was normally the smallest unit for deals in the stock. There were still fewer than forty shareholders in 1690, and the claim of such a tiny body to proprietary rights over a huge tract of land was open to misrepresentation. The London merchants trading to New England had in fact made this objection to Parliament only a few months earlier when they described the Company as "a small number of men with an inconsiderable stock and no ways serviceable to the nation".³ By trebling the stock, the price would be cut to a level where it would excite less envy from the ill-informed and men of more modest means could more easily buy a share in the Company. The number of shareholders would thus rise and a more "Nationall Intrest"

¹ A.1/12, fo. 30-30d.

² Ibid., fo. 27d.

³ See p. xxxii.

be created. Care was taken to prevent control falling into the hands of smallholders by raising the qualification for a vote from £100 to £300.

The principal motive for trebling the stock is, therefore, to be found in the field of public relations. That there were other reasons cannot be doubted : the Minutes refer to "severall prudentiall Reasons more which might be alledged",¹ but what they were is a matter for pure speculation. It is tempting to connect these proceedings with the Deputy Governor, Sir Edward Dering. The previous month he had met and defeated Chambers's challenge to his position. Emerging triumphantly from this disorder, a man might well resolve upon a stroke of policy designed to draw the confidence of the shareholders towards himself. It is worthy of note that all the discussions took place and all the decisions were made at a meeting of the Committee and not at a General Court. Chambers had recently been purged from the Committee but would doubtless have appeared at a General Court along with "Esq. Young" and other dissidents ; under the chairmanship of Marlborough instead of Dering, they would probably have made themselves heard. As it was, the shareholders (and perhaps Marlborough as well) were presented with a *fait accompli*. This is mere hypothesis, but we may confidently regard the trebling of the stock as a landmark in the growth of the power of the Deputy Governor and Committee to which reference has already been made.

The trebling of the Hudson's Bay Company's nominal capital had, as we have already observed, a precedent in the action of the East India Company ; both together provided precedents for similar action by the Royal African Company, with the difference that whereas the East India Company doubled and the Hudson's Bay Company trebled, the African Company quadrupled. It cannot be denied that the financial position of the East India Company in 1682 was sound enough to justify, by reference to both assets and prospects, a scrip dividend of one hundred per cent. Equally certainly, the scrip dividend of three hundred per cent. declared by the African Company in 1691 was justified neither by its assets nor by its trading prospects nor by its political standing in the post-Revolutionary era. The action of the Hudson's Bay Company, falling between the other two in point of both time and magnitude, also falls between them in financial wisdom.

It should, first, be emphasized that, while an increase in nominal capital normally takes place when assets exceed liabilities by a large margin, there is no theoretical reason why it should not take place at any time. In a perfect market the doubling of the nominal capital

¹ A.1/12, fo. 30.

would result in halving the price of the shares ; no shareholder would be either better off or worse off. Nevertheless, it is not the practice to issue scrip dividends without some kind of explanation and justification, and this was as true in the seventeenth century as to-day. That justification might be woefully insufficient, as in the case of the African Company ; but it would still be expected. In the case of the Hudson's Bay Company the trebling of the stock could be dismissed as a harmless piece of megalomania, had the Committee not insisted that the Company's assets were worth at least £31,500. In fact they claimed that the Company was worth a great deal more than this sum. Five major assets were mentioned : (1) furs worth about £10,000 in the warehouse ; (2) goods in transit to the Bay worth the same and the profits to be earned thereon the same again, i.e., £20,000 in all ; (3) this year's returns from York Fort and New Severn, modestly computed at £20,000 ; (4) the forts and contents of a " considerable Intrinsick vallew " ; (5) the " just expectancy " of reparation of £100,000 from the French.¹ On this calculation, the Company was worth £150,000 plus whatever value was assigned to the settlements. Obviously these figures need to be interpreted critically. The claim for compensation from the French, representing two-thirds of the assets, should be ignored, the chances of reparation of any sort being infinitesimal and distant. The forts, though real enough and vital in future earning, were " dead stock " which could never be realized and which to-day would be progressively written off. In any case, with war raging in the Bay, the Company's tenure was insecure : at about the time that the Committee were doing their arithmetic, one of the settlements of a " considerable Intrinsick vallew " was being destroyed and the other being saved from the French by luck. The remaining assets were real, but all were either in the form of beaver or in trading goods about to be turned into beaver ; the Committee's calculations do not seem to have taken account of the falling price and the " modest expectation " that the returns of 1690 would fetch £20,000 must have proved wide of the mark.

A reasonable valuation of the first three assets named might be £30,000 : other assets not mentioned, such as the Company's ships, might push this figure up to, but not beyond, £40,000. These are of course only approximations, and the same reservation must be made about the liabilities which are not itemized in the Minutes. Two in particular should be noted, the Company's debts on bond and the necessity for providing for the recovery of the Bottom of the Bay. In 1690, the Company paid in interest on its debt just over £1,000, suggesting a

¹ Ibid.

capital liability of the order of £16-17,000, all of it on short-terms. Whatever happened in the Bay, however low the price of beaver might fall, this debt could not be escaped. As for the Bottom of the Bay, the Company later claimed that the expedition of 1692-93 cost £20,000¹ though this may be an exaggeration. It is also true that the recovery of Albany would improve the Company's prospects and did in fact bring in large (too large) consignments of beaver in 1693 and 1694. Nevertheless, prudent finance (almost unknown in seventeenth-century corporations) would have suggested that some provision for this outlay should be made. The question of whether the trebling of the stock accurately reflected the Company's financial position thus resolves itself largely into one of accounting. The assets existed on paper, many times over; the realizable assets were few; prospects were highly uncertain; the debt (relative to the scale of the enterprise) was large; no provision for contingencies existed. By the criteria of the seventeenth century the Committee's action could be defended; but it was a consequence of those same criteria that so many corporations of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries came to grief.

The decision to treble the stock having been taken, the Committee proceeded to discuss the question of a cash dividend. It was finally agreed that "their good designs for the Publick benefitt of the Compa. had been soe much obstructed by some Ill members in crossing their Sales and other matters, that they could not Reach to 35 p. cent.", and a dividend of twenty-five per cent. was resolved upon.² This was payable on the *new* stock, and was therefore equal to seventy-five per cent. on the old. Thus between July 1688 and September 1690 one hundred and fifty per cent. (£17,750) had been distributed to shareholders, and this in a period that had witnessed Marsh's failure at Albany, the loss of four ships, and a fall in the price of beaver, to say nothing of the English Revolution, the outbreak of war with France and the naval defeat at Beachy Head. The policy of dividend-restraint had been thrown overboard, and it is not uncharacteristic of seventeenth-century joint-stock finance that this should have happened when retrenchment and saving were more necessary than at almost any time since the formation of the company.

The effect of these dividends and of the confidence in the Company's future which the trebling of the nominal capital implied was to inflate the price of the stock. Unfortunately, until a regular series of prices began in 1692, very few quotations have been discovered and we are almost completely in the dark on this important matter. In June 1689,

¹ *H.B.S.*, XI, 339.

² *A.1/12*, fo. 30d.

we know, the price was 320.¹ This was a year after the dividend of fifty per cent. Three months later the dividend of twenty-five per cent. was declared and no doubt sent the price even higher. Despite the bad news from the Bay and elsewhere, the Earl of Craven stated at the General Court on August 8, 1690, that the stock then stood at 400.² In the following month the stock was trebled and the third and last dividend was declared. No quotation has been found between that date and January 1692, but we should be safe in supposing that £100 nominal sold for a good deal more than one-third the price ruling before the trebling of the stock. When regular quotations begin, in 1692, the price was between 215 and 260,³ and a single quotation preceding the main series gives 275 for January 25, 1692.⁴ From this point, a fairly steady decline can be observed to the end of our period and beyond, the lowest prices recorded being 150 in 1693, 130 in 1694 and 1695, and 98 in 1696. In each of these years there were considerable fluctuations above the lowest levels. Thus in August 1693 the price was 150; by the end of October, following the arrival of news of Knight's success, it was 220. Nevertheless, the downward trend cannot be mistaken. By 1696 the stock was approximately at par and was thus worth about as much as it had been at the beginning of the war.

Although data concerning prices are incomplete, the volume of recorded dealings in the Company's stock can be readily ascertained. The following table gives the annual totals for 1675-98. It is offered with the reservation that, especially in years of abnormal activity, stock may have moved from hand to hand without any record being kept, the transfer book showing only the original vendor and the ultimate purchaser. These figures show that neither the dividends of 1688-90 nor the trebling of the nominal capital had a great *immediate* effect on the turnover. The great boom in dealings came in 1691, lasted into 1692, and then died away to almost nothing. In 1691 the equivalent of much more than the whole capital of the Hudson's Bay Company changed hands, a phenomenon closely paralleled in the history of the East India and Royal African Companies. The boom seems to have begun in the early summer, eighteen transfers in Hudson's Bay stock totalling £6,725 being recorded in the month of June. No doubt this seems very small,

¹ *Whiston's Merchants Weekly Remembrancer*, June 17, 1689, in British Museum, Burney 140 bb.

² A.1/12, fo. 27d.

³ Scott, *The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint-Stock Companies to 1720*, II, 237.

⁴ *Whiston's Merchants Weekly Remembrancer*, January 25, 1692.

Dealings in Hudson's Bay Stock 1675-98¹

1675	£1,700	1689	£3,150
1676	£400	1690	£3,650
1677	£2,200	(to Sept. 3)	
1678	£2,850		In Trebled Stock
1679	£5,100	1690	£4,300
1680	£3,500	(from Sept. 3)	
1681	£2,650	1691	£40,505
1682	£1,400	1692	£27,250
1683	£6,515	1693	£16,150
1684	£4,100	1694	£11,375
1685	£2,425	1695	£10,052
1686	£1,550	1696	£5,975
1687	£5,225	1697	£5,705
1688	£3,000	1698	£2,300

but it has to be compared with, for example, a total of twenty-five transfers for the whole of 1688.

By comparison, in the other companies, transfers were on a much greater scale: in African stock they amounted to £70,000 (on a total capital of £111,100) in five weeks, and in East India stock they were greater still.² This minor South Sea Bubble has not yet been fully investigated, but one explanation is that the war slowed down normal economic activity and especially foreign trade. Since large-scale governmental borrowing had not yet begun, capital was left unemployed and men who would at other times have engaged their money in trade were tempted to invest in joint-stock shares. Be this as it may, we can be confident that the boom had little or nothing to do with the internal history of the Hudson's Bay Company: 1689 and 1690 had been bad years and 1691 was a year of comparative inactivity in which fortune administered neither buffets nor rewards. The forces in operation, whatever they were, came from outside and whirled the stock out of its normal steady round into a fever of jobbing activity.

Many of the Company's shareholders played small parts in this jobbing; none was dominating. In the other companies, the great jobber, William Sheppard, stood head and shoulders above the rest, being party to 389 transfers in East India stock in just over three months in 1691.³ In Hudson's Bay stock he was active, but the scale of his operations was of course smaller: in the year 1691 he bought £3,100

¹ Compiled from A.43/1-3.

² Davies, *Royal African Company*, pp. 80-1.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

in ten lots and sold £3,000 in sixteen. Others rivalled him, John Smith, for example, who bought £3,025 in nine lots and sold £2,025 in eight, the Deputy Governor, Dering, who bought £2,650 in four lots and sold £4,100 in ten, and Stephen Evance who bought £2,500 in six lots and sold £1,000 in seven. Samuel Clarke, Samuel Cudworth, Nicholas Hayward and John Sweetapple also bought and sold with greater freedom than before. There were indeed few shareholders who did not adjust their holdings one way or the other at this time.

The history of the stock in those years will emerge more clearly if it is examined from the point of view of the shareholders. The following table shows the fortunes of an original investment of £100 :

	<i>Cash Paid</i>	<i>Stock Held</i>	<i>Cash Received</i>
1670	£100	£100	—
1684	£100	£100	£50
1688	£100	£100	£100
1689	£100	£100	£125
1690	£100	£300	£200
1696	£100	£300	£200

The rate of profit gained on this investment would depend very largely on the date at which the holding was sold. Thus :

- (1) selling in June 1689 at 320, the net profit would be £320 in 19 years or about 17 per cent. per annum.
- (2) selling in August 1690 at 400, the net profit would be £425 in 20 years or about 21 per cent. per annum.
- (3) selling in January 1692 at 275 (the trebled stock), the net profit would be £925 in 22 years or 42 per cent. per annum.
- (4) selling in June 1696 at par, the net profit would be £400 in 26 years or 15 $\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. per annum.

By any standard these were handsome profits. Two points must, however, be made. First, all these gains owed more to capital appreciation (much of which proved temporary) than to the dividend declared. The dividends between 1670 and 1696 totalled two hundred per cent. or a little less than eight per cent. per annum. Secondly, the sharp rise in the price of the stock after 1688 was due primarily, not to improvements in the Company's financial position or prospects, but, as we have already suggested, to external factors affecting all three of the trading corporations. Thus between June 1689 and January 1692, the

price of the stock rose from 320 to 825 (or 275 after trebling), a huge increase. Yet that period, far from being one of growth in the Company's fortunes, witnessed a series of setbacks in the Bay. Similarly, the fall in price after 1692 is not to be explained merely in terms of worsening prospects. At the end of 1693, for example, with York Fort and Albany in English hands, prospects were better than in January 1692. Yet the price was lower.

The truth is that the market for shares was so imperfect and the desire to enter it so compelling that prices were inflated in a way suggestive of the South Sea Bubble, though on a smaller scale. That an original investment of £100 could be sold in 1692 for eight times its cost should be taken as a token of the Hudson's Bay Company's true financial position only a little less misleading than the prices commanded by South Sea stock in 1718-19. This is not, of course, to say that prices were ruled entirely by external factors. Clearly, changes in a particular company's prospects resulted in important fluctuations, as in the rise of Hudson's Bay stock from 150 to 220 on the news of Knight's success. But these fluctuations took place, especially in 1690-92, at much higher levels than the financial state or earning power of the Company could possibly justify: even the lowest level touched in 1692 (215 on the trebled stock) seems fantastically high when the situation in the Bay is taken into account.

The early 'nineties were *par excellence* a period when speculators reaped the rewards of good judgment and luck, and also paid heavily for their mistakes. This will be plain if, instead of taking an original investment in Hudson's Bay stock, we consider the fate of one made in June 1689 when the price was 320:

	<i>Cash Paid</i>	<i>Stock Held</i>	<i>Cash Received</i>
June 1689	£320	£100	—
Sept. 1689	£320	£100	£25
1690	£320	£300	£100
1696	£320	£300	£100

The profits earned on this investment show even greater variations than those on an original share. Thus:

- (1) selling in January 1692 at 275 (on the trebled stock), the net profit would be £605 in $2\frac{1}{2}$ years, or about 75 per cent. per annum.
- (2) selling in June 1696 at par, the net profit would be £80 in 7 years, or just over $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum.

It is hardly necessary to add that the unfortunate investor who bought in 1692 at 275 and sold in 1696 at par lost £175, besides foregoing the annual income of six per cent. (a matter of nearly £70) which he might have got on a good security.

It should further be remembered that in the years under notice the stock shows to better advantage than over a longer period. When the dividend of 1690 was declared, the Committee waited upon the King with a flowery address in which they confidently forecast that they would "appeare often with this golden frute in our hands".¹ In fact the next dividend was paid in 1718, so that the calculations made above would wear a very different aspect if they were extended through the lean years to the Treaty of Utrecht and beyond.

The history of the share-capital, the price of the stock and the record of dividends show us only one aspect of the Company's finances. Another, and sometimes more revealing, side is the history of its debts. Had it been obliged to rely solely on share-capital to buy goods, furnish ships and hire men, the Company would have quickly expired. From the early years, however, money was borrowed on the security of the seal. In intention and form, these obligations were short-term loans, normally for three or six months; but in fact they were often prolonged on expiry or allowed to continue without formal prolongation. Thus on August 14, 1689, Susanna Letten produced to the Committee six bonds to the value of £1,400, issued to her deceased husband and dated as far back as 1683.² The informality of such arrangements was in the Company's interests as long as money was easily come by, but it had disadvantages. In 1689 the Committee made the discovery that "they Cannot gratifye every one of their Creditors if they should all att one time require their moneys",³ and resolved that three months' notice should in future be given by creditors requiring repayment. In 1696 they ordered that interest should cease at the end of the period of notice unless a creditor declared that he would continue the loan for a further six months.⁴ The effect of these two rulings was to bring to an end the practice whereby persons had been able to get six per cent. from the Company and at the same time to have their money (after the expiry of the initial formal period of the bond) repayable virtually on demand.

Until the Revolution the sums borrowed (though important to the Company's finances) were not large. After 1689, however, a marked rise in the debt becomes apparent: this is revealed by the Grand Ledger under the heading "Interest".⁵

¹ A.1/12, fo. 31d.

² A.1/11, fo. 28d.

³ Ibid., fo. 30d.

⁴ A.1/18, fos. 9d.-10.

⁵ A.14/5.

Interest on Company's Debt 1685-1700 (to nearest £)

1686	£224	1694	£1,495
1687	£180	1695	£1,725
1688	£32	1696	£1,170
1689	£646	1697	£1,581
1690	£1,022	1698	£1,769
1691	£587	1699	£1,403
1692	£691	1700	£1,381
1693	£1,085		

These totals record the interest paid, not the interest falling due ; thus it is likely that part of the interest due in 1688 was paid in the following year. Nevertheless, the general drift of the Company's finances is plain : the cost of the debt in 1694-96 was almost exactly ten times that of 1686-88. In 1695 the total debt outstanding was probably of the order of £30,000, though this would be subject to considerable short-term fluctuations. That the debt on bond should be as great as the liability on issued capital was entirely characteristic of seventeenth-century joint-stock finance.¹ The only way in which the Hudson's Bay Company differed from the East India and Royal African Companies in this particular was that it had avoided contracting large debts in peace-time.

Provided borrowing was kept within reasonable bounds, it was a safe and legitimate way of financing trade when money was coming in steadily. The financing of more speculative activities by this means was, however, a risky operation. After the outbreak of "war" in the Bay in 1686, and especially after 1689, the Company's trade cannot but be regarded as extremely speculative. In the ups and downs of the years that followed there could be no certainty whether a fleet would return crammed with French as well as English beaver or whether it would fall into enemy hands. Had the peace been signed a month earlier, York Fort would have remained in English hands. Such were the hazards. But whatever the outcome, the debt on bond could not be escaped ; neither acts of God nor acts of the King's enemies cancelled the obligation.

The history of the Company's borrowings between 1688 and 1696 falls into two fairly clearly defined periods. Until about the beginning of 1692 the Company was not seriously short, or at least experienced little difficulty in laying hands on what it needed. There were temporary shortages, as in 1688 when the dividend was partly financed

¹ Davies, *Joint-Stock Investment in the Later Seventeenth Century*, pp. 289-91.

by transforming warrants for cash into bonds,¹ but on the whole money was easily come by and at times even thrust upon the Company. Thus in the early part of 1691 several offers were received from persons who wanted to lend.² In the following year, however, a marked change took place : in July the Committee were recommended to look out for cash to pay outstanding bills and two tradesmen were "very Importunate for moneys".³ Twelve months later the practice of paying tradesmen by bonds instead of cash was begun,⁴ and in September 1693 (despite a recent sale realizing nearly £9,000) the Committee were driven to find over £4,000 from their own pockets "considering the necessity of paying Theire Tradesmens bills".⁵ A further £6,300 was borrowed before the end of that year. If anything, money was tighter in 1694 : £2,000 had to be raised in May for the "present dispatch" of the fleet and £1,000 to pay the customs charges on the furs which it brought back.⁶ The decision to send no ships to the Bay in 1695 brought welcome relief to the Company's finances, but the close of the period of this volume did not see an end to these difficulties.⁷

This brief survey modifies the appearance of fabulous prosperity suggested by a superficial glance at the price of the stock. It can be reinforced at certain points by the Company's relations with its bankers. Since 1681 Stephen Evance (himself a shareholder from 1684 to 1689 and again from 1691) had kept the "running cash", that is, received the proceeds of sales and paid bills by meeting the notes drawn upon him. In the ordinary course of business an account of this kind might sometimes be overdrawn, but Evance would never indulge the Company very far. Thus in December 1687 and again in October 1688 he notified the Committee of the size of the overdraft and money had to be borrowed on bond to repay him.⁸ Evance himself occasionally lent on bond, for in 1690 we find the Company repaying two debts of £1,000 each, one of five years and the other of three years standing.⁹ The account was balanced and closed on June 17, 1692, just when financial stringencies were becoming apparent. A few months later Evance succeeded Marlborough as Governor, so that it is unlikely that his relinquishing the account proceeded from a quarrel.

Evance was succeeded by John Sweetaple. The new account began

¹ A.1/10, fos. 26d., 27.

² A.1/13, fos. 9d., 13, 14.

³ A.1/14, fo. 22, 22d.

⁴ A.1/15, fo. 25d.

⁵ Ibid., fo. 27.

⁶ A.1/16, fos. 20, 28d.

⁷ In November 1696 the Deputy Governor was authorized to try to raise a loan in Amsterdam on the security of the Company's goods there (A.1/19, fo. 2).

⁸ A.1/10, fos. 6d., 29.

⁹ A.1/12, fo. 10.

on April 21, 1692, and by November 26 the Company was already overdrawn to the extent of £4,031 19s. 11d.¹ Sweetaple obligingly accepted a bond for £4,000 and proceeded to make further advances : in December he found £700 for wages and in August 1693 a further £200 for allowances to dependents. In February 1694 a new balance was struck and the Company was found to owe its banker £4,000 on the bond of 1692, £1,000 on another bond of 1693 and nearly £3,000 on the running cash.² This seems to have been about as far as Sweetaple was prepared to go : in July the Committee promised to reduce the overdraft out of the first money received, and towards the end of 1695 it was reported that £2,000 owing had been repaid.³ The improvement brought about in 1695 by the decision to send no fleet is clearly shown in the state of the current account. Between January of that year and March 1696 over £30,000 was paid in against about £18,000 withdrawn.⁴ By August 1697 the account had been squared, though the amounts paid by the Company in interest on the bonded debt in that and the following years should caution us against accepting this as the end of financial difficulties. Less was owed to Sweetaple, more to other persons.

The close of our period saw one other change in the relations between the Company and its banker, the abandonment of the practice of paying bills by notes drawn on the current account. From 1696 onwards there is evidence that the Deputy Governor or Secretary or both kept sums of money in hand to pay these bills.⁵ Money due to the Company was still paid to Sweetaple, but withdrawals consisted not of small sums paid to tradesmen but of large sums drawn by one of the officials. This may perhaps be taken as an indication of the growth of the Company's business. Contrary to what might have been expected it was the small business which made frequent use of the banker ; a larger concern, such as the Royal African Company, kept its own cash account, received its own moneys, and paid its own bills.

It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the years under review saw deterioration in the affairs of the Hudson's Bay Company. The bright promise of the first decade or so of its history did not mature. War brought uncertainty and dramatic fluctuations of fortune. It also brought financial burdens which, coupled with other changes, robbed the Company of the profits which would otherwise have accrued to it. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to see the history of these years as a story of unrelieved gloom. If York Fort was lost, Albany was recovered.

¹ A.14/5, Grand Ledger.

² Ibid.

³ A.1/16, fo. 24d. ; A.1/17, fo. 17.

⁴ A.14/5.

⁵ A.1/18, fos. 8d., 13, 19.

If the Company was poorer, it was still solvent. If Parliament failed to renew the Charter in 1698, neither did it statutorily sanction the presence in the Bay of private traders or a rival corporation. In short, the Company survived. The history of other trading corporations and the nature of French aggressions in the Bay and at sea suggest that even survival was an achievement from which some satisfaction could be drawn.

Hudson's Bay Copy
Booke of Letters
Commissions Instructions
Outward

Beginns 2d June 1688

To 13th June 1696.

An accot. of wt. is contained in this Booke

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LETTERS OUTWARD 1688-1696

Governor Geyer¹ & the rest of the Councill at Port Nelson.² Ao. 1688

Wee Received yours Dated the 22th September 1687 by the *Dering*³ Capt. Bond⁴ Comander, whoe thanks bee to God, arrived here in Safety, the 22th October last and did allsoe the *John & Thomas*⁵ Capt. Edgcombe⁶ Comander. *Letter to Governor Geyer and the Councill*

It was very acceptable New's to us, to understand that you recvd. our Cargoe Safe by those Shippes, which wee were Sensible you Stood enough in need of by reason of that burden of Supernumerary'smen, which Lay upon you from the Bottome of the Bay,⁷ which Caused us to furnish you the more *That they recd. Last yeares Cargoe*

¹ By September 1678 George Geyer had spent "about Six Years in a constant Discovery" of the Bottom of the Bay with Governor Charles Bayly (*Parliamentary Report*, 1749, p. 273). References to Geyer will be found in *H.B.S.*, VIII, IX and XI. He returned to England in the autumn of 1693, and in the following April the Committee ordered that a piece of plate to the value of £25 should be made for him "as a presant for . . . his good Service" ([Hudson's Bay Company Archives] A.1/16, fos. 3d., 18d. Subsequent classification numbers refer to Hudson's Bay Company Archives).

² For an account of the posts on Nelson and Hayes Rivers from 1682-87 see *H.B.S.*, XI, 363-9.

³ The *Edward* and *John* pink of one hundred and twenty tons burden was bought from Robert Nicholas and his associates for £500 in February 1687. She was renamed *Dering* after the Deputy Governor, Sir Edward Dering (A.1/9, fos. 8d.-9). She is referred to herein as *Dering* [I] until she was made into a fireship in 1690 and named *Prosperous*. See p. 87. Other references to her will be found in *H.B.S.*, XI.

⁴ William Bond. For a biography see *H.B.S.*, XI, 373-7.

⁵ The *John and Thomas* (one hundred and twenty tons burden) was chartered for the voyage of 1687 to and from York Fort (A.1/9, fos. 11d.-12d.). Earlier references to her will be found in *H.B.S.*, IX and XI.

⁶ References to Captain Leonard Edgcombe will be found in *H.B.S.*, IX and XI. He was master of the *John and Thomas* which was chartered by the Company in 1684, 1687 and 1688. Early in 1689 Edgcombe entered the Company's service (A.1/11, fo. 8d.) and was given command of the *Royal Hudson's Bay*. His last voyage to Hudson Bay was in 1693, and early in the following year he bought the ship *Supply* from the Company.

⁷ See *H.B.S.*, XI, for accounts of the capture of the Company's posts at Moose River, Rupert River and Albany River by de Troyes in 1686.

largely & Wee hope Seeing our great Care & expence for you, it hath put new life into you all, and that Wee shall See the Effects of it, by your industry and the increase of our Trade this yeare.

*About
Losse of the
Bottome of
the Bay*

The Losse of the Bottome of the Bay was a great misfortune to us, which wee hope by the Favour, of our Gracious King,¹ may at large bee repaired to us but wee are highly Sensible that it was pfectly Delivered up throught the ill Conduct pfidiousnesse & Cowardize of Mr. Sergeant² and most of his men, whose behaviour was little better when they Came to Port Nelson, where tho they were preserved from famishing, yett Mr. Sergeant endeavoured to raise what mutiny & disturbance in the Factory hee Could, all which as it might have prejudiced our Trade very much, and endangered our Factory soe next to the Providence of God Wee look upon your prudence and resolution amidst such disorders & in soe Tempestious a time to bee the Cheife meanes that Wee received, a Tollerable Trade the last yeare, and that Wee have our Factory Preserved.

*That they
being now quitt
of the Bottome
of the Bay men
hope wee shall
finde a Large
accompt of Trade*

From whence Wee allsoe promise our Selves, that you being quiett now from soe great an Overcharge of men & from those Mutinous Spirits and other Disorders within your Selves, Wee shall find a larger accompt of Trade The Indians more encouraged & invited Downe and our Fort every yeare more & more Fortified & Strengthened, as well as our men kept in good Unity & order and in Constant exercise & Discipline.

*His maties.
Commission to
Mr. Geyer to be
Governor now
sent*

These Consideracions as well as our particular esteeme for you And the Opinion Wee have of your Fidelity & experience, in promoteing the best wayes to Secure our places & encrease our Trade, hath Caused us to repose a great Trust in you in Continueing you our Governor, And to excite your Courage & Sence of our Nations Honour the more Wee have Honoured you in a way which was never before practiced by obtaineing the Gracious favour from his Matie. to Constitute you Governor by his owne Royall Commission, which you will herewith receive.³

¹ King James II, the former Governor of the Company.

² Henry Sergeant. For a biography see *H.B.S.*, XI, 388–91.

³ See p. 30.

Which as it is an extraordinary Honor soe you ought to look upon it as an engagemt. upon you to bee Answereable for your Trust as well upon your alleigiance to his Matie. as your Duty to us, And Therefore Wee require you to keepe the men of the Factory in exercise of their Armes and in the Skill of military Discipline as much as you Can, that Constant Watch & Ward bee kept That you Trust noe Indians or Strangers within your Fort upon any pretence whatsoever, And that on Occasion of Trade you doe not admitt of above One or Two at a tyme at your Trading Window, all others keeping their due Distance from the Factory.

To keepe the men in exercise of their Armes

not to Trust Indians

You are allsoe to take Care by vertue of his Maties. Comission as well as our's,¹ (which wee allsoe Send you under the Compa's publick Seale) of New Severne² and of Churchill River,³ and See that they bee furnished with able and faithfull men, to Discharge the Governemt. of them under your instruccions, as well as to promote and ymprove the Trade of them, for which Cause you must give them ample instruccions, and all necessary orders, by vertue of your Commission of which you must Send them a Copy.

To take care of New Severne and Churchill River and give them orders

Wee have appointed you noe Deputy Governor at Port Nelson relyeing entirely on your Conduct & experience, and tho wee reced. many Complaints against you here by some, whoe came home the Last yeare of the Great Quantity of Beavor that you have Concealed to Ship home for your owne use at private Opertunityes, and how you gave orders for a Purchase to bee found out for you here, agt. you came home, yett Wee have overlook't all, and are resolved to lay such an Obligation of kindnesse & Confidence upon you, as shall engage your Fidelity as well as utmost industry, And that it shalbe noe bodyes fault but yours if Wee have not a Thriveing & Flourishing Trade.

Tho. complaints came agt. him

yett overlookt them

¹ See pp. 23-4.

² For a short account of New Severn or Churchill Fort from 1673-87, see *H.B.S.*, XI, 361-3.

³ See p. 9, and for "A Breife accott. of a Voyage made to Churchill River from Port Nelson River in the *Hayes* Sloop anno 1686 . . .", see *H.B.S.*, XI, 340.

*Mr. Geyer
establisht
Governor for
3 yeares*

And for your better assureance & Encouragemt. Wee doe hereby establish you for our Governor at Port Nelson for Three yeares from the tyme of your receiveing your new Commission, this yeare, resolveing to Stand by and encourage our Old & Faithfull Servants And That Wee shall never Send New Raw & unexperienced men to put over the heads of such as have Served us Longe & faithfully, for Wee think it not Convenient, that the Cheife men whoe Governe our affaires and must project the encrease of our Trade should bee at an uncertainty, of being every yeare Called home, which prevents them of prosecuteing those measures, for our Security & Advantage, which otherwise they may take And Therefore you may Depend upon our Continued Favour unlesse Wee should see extraordinary Miscarriages Committed by you which Wee Cannot feare from your experience & good Conduct.

*Mr. Walsh
settled at
New Severne
at 50^l p. ann.
for 3 yeares
his Comission
Sent*

Wee have allsoe for the same reasons made noe Change in your Settleing of Mr. Walsh¹ at New Severne in the roome of Mr. Missenden,² whoe indiscreetly left his ymploymt. & Charge there And therefore, wee Could not think him fitting to Send back into the place againe, but Doe Confirme Mr. Walsh as Cheefe at New Severne, and your Deputy Governor there with Mr. Missendens Sallery of 50^l p. Ann. for Three yeares, if wee find his prudent Conduct, and his encrease of our Trade in that Factory, and have accordingly Sent him our Commission³ under our Seale, and pray See that they want noe other usefull hands at New Severne, that are able to promote the Trade aswell as Secure the place for wee expect a greater Trade from thence then Wee have yett had, To which Wee Desire you to give you all the encouragemt. you Can, and order what possible may bee Done to the better fortifyeing of that

*It to be
encouraged
by usefull men
and fortified*

¹ Thomas Walsh. His signature is in B.239/d/5, fo. 94. He apparently joined the Company in May 1678 (A.15/2, fo. 46), and references to him are to be found in *H.B.S.*, VIII, IX and XI. He was Governor of York Fort when it was surrendered to the French in 1694, and returned to England via France early in 1696. See Appendix C, p. 318 et seq. In 1697 he apparently went "on a Voyage to Newfound Land" (A.1/19, fo. 15).

² Samuel Missenden. For a biography see *H.B.S.*, XI, 381-2.

³ See p. 24.

place and that the men bee likewise kept there in Military Discipline.

For Churchill River if you have Settled it this Somer¹ allready by the *Colleton*² Yatcht or by the *Huband*³ (if perchance it pleased God she gott Well to you the Last yeare) Then our possitive *orders are that a Settlemt. bee made there in Churchill River* bee promoted as soon as possible And therefore Wee have ordered that the *Dering* (whome James Young⁴ Comands this yeare) shall touch first at Churchill River and Dropp Eight or Tenne hands there to begin to build & make a Settlemt. and soe proceede ymediately to Port Nelson and to Winter there for the better helpe and Security, Wee appointing the *Colleton* Yatcht if not there allready; to goe to Churchill River with all other necessary's as shalbe requisite there to remaine & to attend that New Factory and Settlemt.

*Churchill River
to be Settled*

*Dering to touch
first there and
Leave men to
make a Settlemt.
and goe to port
Nelson and there
winter*

*The Colleton
yatch to attend
this Factory*

Wee Conceive That Thomas Savage⁵ (whome Wee think a

¹ It had not been settled by 1688. See p. 18, n. 2, p. 28, n. 1, and pp. 97, 119, 187. According to the York Fort accounts (B.239/d/1), the men directed to be "put on shoare" at Churchill spent the winter of 1688-89 either at York Fort or at New Severn.

² For a note on the *Colleton* yacht which first arrived in Hudson Bay in 1680 see *H.B.S.*, VIII, 10, etc. References to this ship will also be found in Vols. IX and XI of the series.

³ The *Industry* frigate of sixty tons burden was bought from John Dodsworth for £140 in March 1687. She was presumably renamed after Sir John Huband, Bart., a Committee Member of the Company (A.1/9, fo. 9-9d.). From the remark above, "if perchance it pleased God she gott Well to you the Last yeare", it is assumed that the *Huband* lost touch with *Dering* [I] and the *John and Thomas* on the outward voyage in 1687, and that she did not arrive at York Fort until after those two ships had departed on the homeward voyage.

⁴ James Young of Wapping was engaged on March 14, 1688, as captain of *Dering* [I] (A.1/10, fo. 13). He commanded *Dering* [II] on the 1690 voyage, and then requested "to bee Excused from serveing the Compa." at the expiration of his contract in April 1691. The owners of the *Loyalty*, however, nominated him commander when that vessel was chartered by the Hudson's Bay Company for the 1691 voyage (A.1/13, fos. 5d., 11), and in 1693, at short notice, he replaced John Simpson as captain of the *Supply* for that year's voyage (see p. 11, n. 1).

⁵ Earlier references to Thomas Savage will be found in *H.B.S.*, VIII, IX and XI. He accompanied Henry Kelsey on the journey to the north of Churchill in the summer of 1689 (see p. 18, n. 2), and in the following autumn returned to England. Savage took part in the capture of Albany from the French in 1693

*Tho. Savage to
be cheife there*

Stout & an honest fellow) may bee fitt to bee Cheife or Overseer of the New Settlemt. of Churchill River for the first begining Therefore if you think him fitt you may Send him and give him necessary instructions how to Comport himselfe there.

*Edward Mills
sent as
Harponeer*

Wee have Sent thither *One Edward Mills*¹ *whoe is an Harponeir and hath allsoe been bread in the Greenland Whalefishing Trade and wilbe the most Skilfull man of all to Discover and Direct what that place will produce as to Whalefishing lett him have all encouragemt. upon all occations that you Can.*

*to be
encouraged*

*Capt. Edgcombe
to retorne
this yeare*

See that Capt. Edgcombe, in the *John & Thomas* (whoe comes allsoe to your Factory of Port Nelson) shall onely returne back for England, this yeare, in whome you are to Shipp all our Cargoe home & being a hired Shipp to Dispatch her as fast as you can possible.

*Captn. Bond
sent in the
Churchill to
the Bottome of the
Bay with. the
Yonge Frigatt*

Wee have allsoe Sent this yeare Capt. Wm. Bond to the Bottome of the Bay, in a New Frigatt built by us on purpose, which Wee have in Honour of our Noble Governor Called the *Churchill*² Frigatt and given the Comand of her to Capt. Bond, whoe readily undertakes that imploymt. to endeavour to make a New Settlemt. there, without annoying the French, or Disturbing them unlesse they Assault him, because of the Truce (of which Wee allsoe Send you Copy), Wee Designe another Small Vessell of 50 Tonns, which Wee are building allsoe & wilbe called the *Younge*³ Frigatt & bee Comanded by

(see p. 202, n. 2), and in the summer of that year was sent to Moose River to trade with the Indians (p. 229, n. 1). He returned to England in the same year.

¹ According to B.239/d/1, fo. 12d., Edward Mills spent the winter of 1688–89 at York Fort. See p. 9, n. 1 and p. 28, n. 1. He returned to England in 1689 in *Dering* [1]. His wages were at the rate of £3 per month (A.15/3, fo. 152).

² This frigate of approximately one hundred tons burden was built by John Taylor for about £6. 5s. 0d. per ton, and was launched on May 2, 1688 (A.1/10, fos. 11d.–16). For reference to her capture by the French in 1689 see pp. 81–3.

³ The *Yonge* (*Younge*) frigate of fifty tons burden was built by John Taylor. She was presumably named after William Yonge, a Committee Member of the Company (see *H.B.S.*, IX, 339–42). For reference to her capture by the French in 1689 see pp. 81–3.

one Capt. Sympson¹ to accompany Bond and both (God Sending them in Safety thither) to winter this yeare in the Bottom of the Bay.

Wee Send a Worthy person Capt. John Marsh² recomended to us by our Governor my Ld. Churchill to bee Governor of the Bottome of the Bay whoe hath alsoe the like Commission from his Matie. as you have and from whose Courage and Conduct Wee promise our Selves Some Signall Successe, hee haveing rather Chose that place and ymploymt. then any other which hee might have had.

*Captn. Marsh
Sent Governor*

With him Wee have Sent a Deputy Governor Capt. Andrew Hamilton³ Judging it necessary that place where our enemies have gott footeing should bee well Seconded, and Wee haveing a very good report of Capt. Hamiltons Carriage in many Services.

*Captn. Hamilton
his Deputy
Governor*

Mr. Hugh Verner⁴ whoe was before at Ruperts River⁵ wee have sent to bee Trader in the Bottome of the Bay, and Mr. Sinclaire⁶ is gon thither as Warehousekeeper.

*Mr. Verner
Trader
Mr. Sinclar
Warehowsekeeper*

¹ The John Simpson who was captain of the *Industry*, renamed *Huband* (see p. 9, n. 3), when she was bought by the Company in 1687 (A.1/9, fo. 9d.) was apparently identical with the John Simpson who offered his services as master of the Company's newly-built frigate *Yonge* in May 1688 (A.1/10, fo. 17-17d.). Simpson was taken prisoner by the French at the Bottom of the Bay when his ship was captured early in 1689 and later in the year was sent to Canada (p. 83). He arrived back in England via France early in 1692, and in 1693 was appointed to command the *Supply*, but owing to his mismanagement he was replaced at the last moment by Captain Young (p. 184, n. 2, and A.1/15, fo. 23d.).

² Marsh was engaged by the Committee on May 16, 1688. His contract was for four years at £100 per annum, and Henry Mazey was "entertained as an Attendant to Governor Marsh and Servant to this Company for Four yeares att Tenn pounds per Ann." (A.1/10, fos. 17, 23). Marsh died on January 30, 1689. See p. 82.

³ Captain Andrew Hamilton "appeared" at the Committee held on April 25, 1688, "desireing to bee entertained into the Compa. Service". He was engaged as deputy to Captain John Marsh at £50 per annum (A.1/10, fos. 15, 17d.). For references to Hamilton's capture by the French at the Bottom of the Bay and his sale of the Company's ship *Huband* in Ireland see pp. 82-4.

⁴ For a biography see *H.B.S.*, XI, 391-3.

⁵ For the history of the post on Rupert River from 1668-86, see *H.B.S.*, XI, 348-54.

⁶ For earlier references to Stephen Sinclair, who joined the Company in 1683

*To settle
correspondence
wth. the Bottome
of the Bay
by Indians and
to give
them any
satisfaction*

Wee Writt to you last yeare at any rate almost, to bee Sure to Settle Correspondencyes with the Bottome of the Bay, as well as New Severne, and now Wee recommend it to you againe, as often as you Can possible in the yeare, and with all our places mutually, by the meanes of some Trusty Indians, and such as you find Trusty give them any reasonable Content, for it wilbe of great importance to our affaires to Communicate our Condicion, to each other, whereby sometymes good Designes may be formed to our Advantage and bad Designes prevented, which may bee hatching against us, as well as the Nations of the Indians, allured to some or other of our Factoryes, and they bee pfectly bee Informed of the Honor of the English Nation and our Most Sincere Dealeing with them, And that We are not Slaves to the French as they most Wickedly, would make them beleive.

*if Capt. Bond
had bin sent
Last yeare
the Bottome
of the Bay
might have
beene Saved*

Had you Sent Capt. Bond last yeare in the *Dering* to the Bottome of the Bay hee had certainly repossessed himselfe of all the Bottome of the Bay and Wee had received likewise a great quantity of Beavor.

*the French not
Leaveing 15
men*

But Wee Confesse Wee did not order it possitively but left it to your Judgment & Good [?] Councell, whoe not thinking fitt to undertake it wee must bee Content with the losse of soe Great an opertunity for Wee are Certainly Informed, there were not above 15 french men left at Moose River,¹ and they in a Despaireing perishing Condicion, soe that they would have Delivered all up at the Sight of an English Shipp or English men and all the other Factoryes were Demolished & Deserted, but now Wee Doubt there must bee other worke, for it if Wee make any Settlemt. God Give a Blesseing to it.

Wee have Sent you very little of any Goods this yeare or Provisions our Charge haveing been soe extraordinary, the last yeare & your acknowledgeing by your Letter now, that you had enough for Three yeares, and therefore you made noe

see *H.B.S.*, IX and XI. He was captured by the French at the Bottom of the Bay in 1689 and sent to Canada. He returned to England via France early in 1691 and re-joined the Company's service (see pp. 83, 120).

¹ For a history of the Company's posts on Moose River from 1671-86, see *H.B.S.*, XI, 357-61.

Indent, for any thing this yeare, and then our Charge to the Bottome of the Bay being Great, and for building of Shippes Wee had neede of a Little of Breath & respite of Charge neverthesse, some provisions Wee have Sent you, and other necessary materialls as you will perceive p. Invoyses.¹

*some goods
Sent as
p. Invoyses*

You shall never bee troubled with Holland Guns² againe, which whether ignorantly, or wilfully put upon us, Wee Doe believe hath done our Trade great prejudice, but by your prudent Complacency towards the Indians, and the assurance of all Faithfull Dealeing, and the best Goods for the future, Wee hope may be Recovered and the Indians retained to our Factoryes.

*not more
Holland Gunns
Shalbe Sent*

Our Trade from Port Nelson and New Severne the last yeare was but Small, which Wee excuse in regard of the Troubles & Contentions you were invironed with from the Men of the Bottome of the Bay, and some intestine Differences in your owne Factory, But this yeare wee hope to find it much larger both from Port Nelson and New Severne, for the Charge of both places is very great, and if the Trade doe not encrease accordingly, there wilbe noe Supporting of it, *Therefore Wee desire you to Study all meanes possible, to enlarge & increase it from Each Factory* And Wee doe assure you That as Wee see our Trade increase and a larger Cargoe Come home every yeare, *soe you shall find our Favour & kindnesse increase towards you.*

*The last yeare's
Trade Small*

*hope it wilbe
Large this yeare*

*To use meanes
to encrease it*

*and they shall
finde kindnesse*

You See Wee make you the Cheife usefull man, to us and Wee are of opinion that you haveing been soe many yeares in our Service and are soe well experienced in all our affaires and in our true interest that you will never desert our employmt., as long as wee think fitt to Continue you in it, And therefore Wee doe not Answere your request of Comeing home this yeare, but approve of your Modesty that it was with a Submission & Resignation to our pleasure & Service, and

*Do not send
for him home,
but continue
him*

¹ Copies of the invoices of the goods sent in 1688 for York Fort and the intended post on Churchill River by the ships *Dering* [I] and the *John and Thomas* are to be found in A.24/1, fos. 61d.-63d., 64.

² These guns were originally requested by Pierre Esprit Radisson. See *H.B.S.*, XI, 147.

*upon hopes he
will encrease
the Trade*

*if Mr. Lawson
will come home*

*Mr. Bennett to
be putt in his
place*

*usefull men to
be kept and
idle ones Sent
home*

*if Mr. Chouard
desires to come
home and he
can be Spared
he may come*

*To keepe the
Standard
of Trade
Mr. Radison
agreed to*

therefore Wee have established you for some tyme as wee have before Declared, and you may expect every yeare an encrease of our Favour, As wee doe not doubt but you wilbe ambitious every yeare more & more to encrease our Trade and to Shew your Abilityes and usefullnesse.

You Write That Mr. Lawson¹ desired to Come home this yeare whoe was but last yeare put in Warehousekeeper, in Mr. Sinclaire place and his wages made 20^l P Ann., if hee Still Desire it, and you Can well Spare him you may lett him Come home and put Mr. Bennett² in the Warehouse in his place, But in Generall as to men that are to Come home Wee must leave it to you, whoe can best Judge there whoe are usefull Diligent men for us, and whoe are Drones uselesse and Idle fellowes, Send home if any bee ingenious honest and Diligent, you must retaine them by faire meanes and according to their Deserts, till Wee can better Supply their places.

Wee take Notice that Monsr. Chouard,³ Mr. Radisson's⁴ nephew whoe is Trader desires to Come home, if you think hee doth advantage us in that Station of the Tradeing quality, why should hee desire to Come home Since he wants a yeare yett of his Contracted tyme, which was 4 yeares, but if you think hee Can bee Spared, Wee leave it to his owne inclinations to Come this yeare or not.

Wee would have you keepe, to the Standard, that Mr. Radisson agreed to, but withall to give the Indians all manner of Content and Satisfaction and in Some goods Under Sell the

¹ John Lawson of London, Apothecary, joined the Company in 1684 for four years at £10 per annum. In 1689 he was acting as "warehouse Keeper, Steward & Chirurgion" at £30 per annum (A.1/12, fo. 18d.). His wages were increased to £40 in 1690 (see p. 103). Lawson was captured by the French at York Fort on October 4, 1694, and died in France some time before April 17, 1696, when his outstanding wages were paid to his sister Elizabeth, wife of Richard Hurst (A.15/4, fos. 111, 112).

² "John Bennett of St. Martins in the Feilds Gent." was engaged by the Company in May 1687 for four years at £20 per annum (A.1/9, fo. 17). He died on November 19, 1691 (A.15/4, fo. 25). See p. 191.

³ Jean Baptiste Chouart, son of Médard Chouart, sieur des Groseilliers. See *H.B.S.*, XI, 147 et seq.

⁴ Pierre Esprit Radisson. See p. 166 et seq.. For a biographical note see *H.B.S.*, V, 243-9. See also *H.B.S.*, VIII, IX, XI and Nute, *Caesars of the Wilderness*.

French that they may be encouraged to Come to our Factory's and to bring their Nations Downe, for *Wee are in your minde in that particular, that Wee ought to Trade with the Indians Soe as that Wee may Trade with them againe, and to make them willing to Come to us and not for Once and never See them more.*

Wee are Informed of Divers Interlopeing Designes on foote this yeare Some that are Sett out from Corke in Ireland & Some from Holland and that divers of our men are in the Designe as namely Capt. Abraham and Capt. Outlaw,¹ and others whither Designed for the Bottome of the Bay or for your parts or as Some think for the New Settlemt. at Churchill River, Wee Cannott Certainly tell But if they Come in Your way, Wee Doe not question your Vigarous attacking & Seizeing of them their Shippes and Goods.

And for the better Curbeing of such Vyolent actions agt. his Maties. Prerogative, His Matie. hath been gratusly pleased to Grant us his Royall Proclamacion for the prohibiteing & restraineing all such privateer & interlopeing psons, which hath been Solempnly and Duely proclaimed of which Wee Send You Severall Copyes,² to make use as you See Occation, and to Shew if any such Come neare you, the better to require their imediate Subjeccion to his Maties. Proclamacion or else that you Seize them by force of Armes.

As for Amos Damaresq³ Whoe Wee Understand, now Comands the *Colleton* Yatcht & Demands 40£. P. Ann., Wee think it too much, but Wee will leave it to you, if you think

*To trade
wth. the Indians
soe as to
encourage them
to come againe*

*notice of
Interlopers*

*if they come
To Seize Shippes
and goods*

*his Maties.
proclamation
agt. Interloper;
now Sent*

*Amos Damaresq
mr. of the
Colletons wages
As he demaunds*

¹ For biographies of John Abraham and John Outlaw, see *H.B.S.*, XI, 370-3; 383-5.

² The Governor and Committee petitioned King James II for a "Proclamacion to be issued out in behalfe of this Company in Confirmation of the Royall Grant . . . prohibiteing and restraineing all His Maties. Subjects (Except such whoe are of the said Compa. or ymployed or Lycenced by them) to Saile Navigate or frequent any the Straits Seas Bayes Lakes Rivers Ports or Territoryes within the Priviledges of the said Compa. . . .". This request was granted on March 4, 1688, and the proclamation was issued on March 31, 1688. Copies of the petition and proclamation are in A.9/4, fos. 4-4d., 7-8.

³ Earlier references to "Amos Dumeres of Waping" will be found in *H.B.S.*, IX. He commanded the *Albemarle* to Churchill River in June 1689 (B.239/d/1, fo. 11d.), and in the following autumn returned to England.

40£; thought
too much, Left
to wt. he deserves
his arreares
paid Mr.
Missenden

Captn. Young
Commander of the
Dering to be
of the Councell

also Captn.
Edgcombe
during their Stay

Monsr. Chouard
& Grimard made
Denizens by
his Matie.

New Severne
not well
maned

Some men Sent
thither of
discretion
or else Mr.
Walsh & Mr.
Ford not to
come from it

hee Can Deserve it, Wee paid his Wages last yeare to Mr. Missenden by vertue of his Letter of Attorney to Mr. Missenden what accompt hee will give him of it now hee Doth not returne into the Companyes Service Wee Cannot tell, hee must look to that.

Capt. Young Comander of the *Dering*, whoe is to Stay with you all winter, at Port Nelson, Wee will have to bee received into your Councell and to bee treated with all respect and Civility, as a man whome Wee believe you will finde Stout & Courageous and very usefull to you on any Occation.

Capt. Edgcombe is alsoe dureing his Stay to bee admitted into the Councell.

You may Lett Monsr. Chouard & Monsr. Elias Grimard¹ know that they are both by his Maties. favour made Free Denizens of England and to enjoy all priviledges as English borne men soe that they are now to look upon themselves as Subjects of his Matie. of England.

Wee are afraid least New Severne should bee too Slenderly manned or ill fortified, which you are to look well after And Wee doe not See that there is any mann of Sence or reason there but Mr. Walsh and Mr. Ford² The rest Wee Suppose all Common men, and if they bee both at Port Nelson for some tyme agt. the arriveall of our Shippes from England Judge you in what a Naked Condicion New Severne is left till their returne and to what hazard exposed, Therefore Wee think you should doe well to think of Supplying that place with a man or two more of some reason and Discretion or else

¹ Elias or Elie Grimard (Grimald; Grymard) was one of the Frenchmen left by Radisson and des Groseilliers on Hayes River in 1683, and who joined Radisson when he came back in the English interest in 1684. See Nute, *Caesars of the Wilderness*, p. 222 et seq., and *H.B.S.*, XI, 147, 235, 238.

² John Ford of Sherborne, Dorset, was engaged by the Company in 1684 for four years. He went to Port Nelson as mate of the *Lucy*, then became mate and later commander of the *Albemarle*. He returned to England in the *John and Thomas* in 1688, and in the following year he was given the command of the newly-built frigate *Northwest Fox*. For his instructions and reference to his capture by the French see pp. 64, 93. On December 11, 1689, the Committee voted "Twenty French Crownes" for "the Releife of Capt. Ford . . . a prisoner in Morlax in France" (A.1/12, fo. 5). In May 1690 the Committee suspected that Ford had "Revolted to the French Interest" (see p. 99).

you must Comand them not to leave the place upon the same reasons, you enjoyned Mr. Missenden not to Come away from it.

Wee have furnished all our Shipps with the Kings Jacks to weare within the Straits and any part of Hudsons Bay which wilbe for their greater Security in case they should meet with any French Shippe or Vessells Therefore they are to Weare it there as often as they please or think fitt.¹

*our Shipps to
Weare the
Kings Jack
within the
Straits and
Hudsons Bay*

Wee have every yeare and Doe againe recommend to your Trade the Trade of Small Furrs, and that you encourage the Indians all you Can to take them & bring them to Trade.

*Trade of Small
Furrs to be
encouraged*

You are likewise to take notice that the Compa. here have Declared Castoreum² or Beavor Codds to be the Compa's Comodity and that none besides shall Trade therein, of which you are to give publiq notice and to forbid any man's private Dealeing therein but to take it into the Compa's Warehouse, to Ship home for their accompt, and to encourage the Indians to bring all Downe they Can, of their Beavor Codds for that they shalbe Traded for.

*Castorum or
Beaver Cod
the Compies.
Comodity and
to be traded
for*

One thing Wee Recommend to your Care upon all Opertunities which may phaps exceedingly encrease our Beavor Trade & weaken the French of Canada, which is to take hold of all Occations & opertunities to invite & allure the Stragling French, that pick up Beavor from the Indian's to bring it to your Factory and to other our Factoryes and to assure them that you will Trade fairly with them for it either for goods in your Factory or give them Bills upon us here in London which wee will punctually pay, and you may promise to find them passage upon our shipps hither if they are Disposed to Come away.

*to weaken the
French of Canada
To invite the
Stragling French
to bring Beavor
& to trade wth.
them, or give
Bills for the
Same; or Send
them on our
Shipps*

By this way Wee are will assured that Wee shall beate the French out of the Beaver Trade And that the Stragling French would bee glad to Dispose their Beavor soe, if they knew they might bee admitted to our Factoryes, and you

¹ Cf. pp. 47, 93, 164, 264, 290, and for earlier references to the Company's ships wearing the King's Jack see *H.B.S.*, VIII, 341-2; *H.B.S.*, IX, 18 and n, and *H.B.S.*, XI, 62.

² See *H.B.S.*, IX, 166n.

might gett it of them for a very Small matter, and these Direccions you may give to New Severne alsoe.

*But to be
Watchfull
that the French
Doe not Surprize
them*

But then you must take One Caution along with you That if the French report to you upon this pretence of Trade you be very Watchfull & Jealous of them, and be sure they doe not Surprize you at any advantage to the Danger of your Factory, but admitt them but One by One and keepe Strict Watch & Ward, and Give the like orders to other Factoryes Wee know your prudence and Circumspection will neede noe further inculcateing of this Care and Caution.

*To Husband
provisions*

Tho Wee Sent you a very large Supply of provisions and all things the last yeare yett Wee Desire you to Husband all to our best advantage and to make them last out to the utmost allwayes encourageing our men at fitt Seasons to bee hunting for Fresh Provisions and to Catch both fish and Fowle what they Can for it is Wisdome to bee allwayes frugall against any unforeseen accidents which may fall out.

*Fra. Hodgson
if disabled to
be sent home*

Wee understand that Francis Hodgson¹ is a Disabled man and not Capeable or fitt for our Service, if soe lett him bee Sent home.

*The Boy Kelsey
wth. Tho. Savage
to be sent to
Churchill River,
But not to be
Trusted with the
Indians without a
pledge and to*

That the Boy Henry Kelsey² bee Sent to Churchill River with Thomas Savage because Wee are informed hee is a very active Lad Delighting much in Indians Compa., being never better pleased then when hee is Travelling amongst them, neverthelesse would not have him too Soone trusted, amongst those unknowne Natives without a Pledge from the Indians Cautioning our men likewise

¹ Francis Hodgson joined the Company in 1687. He died at York Fort on January 24, 1688, and his wages were paid to his mother (A.15/3, fos. 94, 127, 131).

² Earlier references to Henry Kelsey will be found in *H.B.S.*, IX and XI. His "Journal of a voyage & Journey . . . to discover & Endeavour to bring to a Commerce ye nothern Indians Inhabiting to ye Northward of Churchill River & also ye dogside Nation", June 17–August 8, 1689, is contained in Doughty and Martin, *Kelsey Papers*, pp. 25–32. He was accompanied on this journey "of hardship and failure" (*ibid.*, p. XIX) by Thomas Savage (see p. 9), who was an Englishman and not an Indian, as stated by the editors of *The Kelsey Papers*. According to the York Fort accounts (B.239/d/1, fo. 11d.), goods were "sent to the Norward of Churchill in the Shalloop [*Hopewell*] (May 1689) . . ." and ". . . to Churchill River in the *Albemarle* Amos Dumuresq Commander (June 1689) . . .".

that they bee not too Secure when they shall Come to a Treaty with any number of this People whoe have a Distinguishing Carracter of being more Treacherous then any other Indians in the Country.

*caution our men
not to Trust them*

Wee further order that the two Indians Slaves bee alsoe Sent along with them whoe must for a while (all our English being Strangers to that Dialect) bee their Interpreters, Therefore it wilbee worth your Considering whither when they arrive there, they shalbe Trusted away both together in the Country, in regard if they should not have the priviledge of returneing, the future & prosperity of that Factory would bee at a Stand at least for some tyme, It may bee allsoe Worthy your thoughts whither they should bee Sent to Invite the Indians before the Factory bee well Secured.

*The Two Indian
Slaves alsoe
Sent with them
but not both
together in the
Country
or if he sends
them before
the Factory
is made*

Wee send you herewith the Copy of the Truce¹ Concluded betweene our King and the Most Christian King, which you See is to forbear all hostillities and live in good mutuall Correspondencies untill the First of January next and further untill other orders Come from both Kings which Wee are enjoyned to require you to observe, the French doeing the like on their parts, But in case the French should bee the Agressors and renew hostillities & provocations, upon you or upon any of your men Reason then will Dictate, to you, and you have free liberty to repell force with force, and not onely soe in your owne Defence but wee doe allsoe order & enjoyne you, to pursue your advantage, and upon such Just Opertunities as much as in you lyes to Recover his Maties. rights & our's which were unjustly Seized, and Dureing the quiett behaviour on both sides are onely under Deliberacion, betweene the Two King's And therefore Wee referr the Conduct in such Cases of Advantage to your resolucion & Courage to improve the utmost that you Can, in which you may be Sure to deserve thanks and Rewards both from his Matie. and us too.

*Coppy of the
Truce and
his maties.
Letter Sent By
wch. all
hostillities
betweene us
and the French
till further
order are to
cease*

*But if the
French use
force then
to repell it*

As Wee have already written the *Dereing* shall winter with you soe our intention is and Wee order that you Send her home early the next yeare with all our Beavor & furs and that she may bee ready to Depart the next day after the arriveall of the Shipp or Shippes wee shall send from hence, how earely

*The Dering to be
sent back early
the next yeare,
with all our
Beavor to Depart
the next day after
the arrivall of
the Shipp wee send
in case she Come
by the First of
Septr.*

¹ For a copy of this Truce see *H.B.S.*, XI, 329-30. See also pp. 328-29.

soever they shall arrive, but in Case noe Ship Come to you by the First of September that then, this Ship without any further Stay bee imediately dispatched.

*If Mr. Walsh
Stay at New
Severne Then a
Coppie of this
Letter to be
sent him*

In Case you have enjoyned Mr. Walsh for the more Security of New Severne not to depart thence, Wee order you to Send him a Copy of this our Generall Letter for his better Informacion.

*If Captn.
Edgcombe
miscarry then
Capt. Younge
with the Dering
to retorne this
yeare*

Wee takeing into Consideration the hazard that may attend our Shippes or One of them, Doe therefore think fitt to order that in case Capt. Edgcombe should miscarry and nott arrive Safe with you (which God forbid) Then you are to Send home Capt. Younge in the *Dering*, and the Cargoe with her this yeare, But otherwise to keepe her with you as Wee have before said.

*Sherry sent
for presents*

We have Sent Three Small Runletts of Sherry each Containeing 12 Gallons, which are two for your owne use and One for Mr. Walsh at New Severne as a token of our particuler respects.

Not knoweing any thing more needfull at this present Wee Committ you to the Proteccion of the Almighty and rest

Hudsons Bay House³
London the Second June
1688

Your very loveing Freinds¹
CHURCHILL² Governor
E. DERING⁴ Dept. Governor
JOHN HUBAND⁴
JOHN LETTEN⁵
STE. PITTS⁶
SAMUELL CLARKE⁶
NICO. HAYWARD⁷
WILL. YONGE⁷

Exd.

*new Covenants
for Servants
Sent*

Wee have agreed upon a New forme of Contracts for our Servants wch. being reprinted wee Send you a parcell of them, Wee recommend to your discretion, to cause such as have not entred with us here, and Such as you take on there, to Seale the Same.

Mr. Kingston⁸ indeede was with us to desire your Sallery by vertue of your Letter of Attorney, but a publick Sale being just a manageing and our Shipps quickly after in the hurry of our dispatching, Wee desired him, to forbear it, till that were over Judgeing it noe manner of inconvenience to you: Soe that the Shipps being now a parting; he shall have it, when ever he call for it, Nor would wee have told him Soe much if he had pretended the Least occasion on your behalfe for it.

*Mr. Kingston
Shall have
Govr. Geyers
Sallery when
he calls for it*

It fell out that wee could have noe Brazill Tobaccoe time enough to send with the *Dering* to Churchill River, wee would have you to Supply them, by the *Colleton* yacht; that Small quantity wch. they can want.

*Brazill Tobaccos
to be sent to
Churchill River
by the Colleton*

The Kings Originall Comission goes in Capta. Edgcombe, and p. Capta. Younge the authentick, Coppy from my Lord Mayor of London⁹ Under the Citty Seale, by wch. you are effectually to act in case the Originall miscarry.

*Kings Comission
and Coppy under
the Citty Seale
Sent*

E. DERING Deputy Govr.
SAMUEL CLARKE
NICHOL. HAYWARD¹⁰

¹ For the names of the men elected in November 1687 to serve as Governor, Deputy Governor and on the Committee for one year, see Appendix A, p. 304.

² John, Lord Churchill (later Duke of Marlborough) succeeded the Duke of York as Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1685.

³ The Hudson's Bay Company leased Scriveners' Hall on the east side of Noble Street, Cheapside, from the Scriveners' Company in 1682. The Hudson's Bay Company referred to the premises as Hudson's Bay House. See *H.B.S.*, VIII and IX.

⁴ See Appendix A, p. 304, notes 2 and 3.

⁵ For a biography, see *H.B.S.*, VIII, 338-9.

⁶ See Appendix A, p. 305, notes 4 and 5.

⁷ For biographies of Nicholas Hayward and William Yonge see *H.B.S.*, VIII, 338, and *H.B.S.*, IX, 339-42.

⁸ In A.1/10, fo. 23, Daniel Kingston is named as Geyer's attorney. Earlier references to Daniel Kingston, brazier, will be found in *H.B.S.*, VIII and IX.

⁹ According to the *City of London Directory & Diary and Livery Companies Guide*, 1957, Sir John Chapman was Lord Mayor of London at this time.

¹⁰ Dering, Clarke and Hayward went to Gravesend to see off the ships. The minutes of their meetings held on June 4, 5 and 6 are in A.1/10, fos. 21-22.

*Letter to
Mr. Tho. Walsh*

*Established at
New Severne
for Three yeares
at 50£ p. ann.
his Comission
Sent*

*if Govr. Geyer
dye he is to
Succeede him*

*To be on his
Guard agt. the
French*

*To give such
proofes of his
prudence &c.
that may please*

*To maintaine
a Correspondency
betweene you
and the Bottome
of the Bay*

*Capta. Bond
and others
Sent thither*

Mr. Walsh

Mr. Missenden haveing Deserted his Station and you being placed by Governor Geyer in his Stead, Wee have thought good to approve of his Choyse and Doe establish you under the Sallery of 50£ p. Ann. for Three yeares from the tyme you entred upon that ymploy, unlesse in the interim Wee Shall See Just Cause to Dismiss you And accordingly Wee have Sent you a Commission under our Seale to bee Cheife at New Severne and Deputy Governor under Capt. Geyer of Yorke Fort Hayes River and Churchill River and in case of his Decease (which God forbid) you are to Succeede him In the Governemt. untill our further order hoping you will have a particuler regard to the promoteing of the Compas. Interest and the improvemt. of their Trade.

As to the French you Cannott bee too Jealous of them but ought allwayes to bee upon your Guard to prevent any of their Designes either of Fraud or force, Wee Doubt not but you will give such proofes of your prudence fidelity & Courage, in the Secureing of our rights & Territoryes & mannagemt. of our Trade, That Wee shall have reason to bee well pleased that soe Considerable a part of the Governemt. is fallen under your Care & Conduct.

Wee would have you by meanes of some Trusty Indians mainteyne a frequent Correspondency betweene you & our People at the Bottome of the Bay whither Wee have Sent One Capt. John Marsh Governor in a New Shipp Wee have built for that purpose Called the *Churchill* Friggatt Comanded by Capt. Wm. Bond to settle at Chichechewan¹ accompanied with another New Vessell Called the *Yonge* Friggatt Capt. John Sympson, Wherein Goes Capt. Andrew Hamilton, as Deputy Governor, Mr. Hugh Verner & Stephen Sinclaire as Assistants, being well assured that such a Correspondency would bee of great use & Satisfaccion both to your Selves & us. And that you Communicate all to your Governor at Port Nelson, To the end hee Transmitt the same to us.

To the Rest Wee referr you to our General Letter wherein

¹ I.e., Albany. For the history of the posts on Albany River from 1674-86, see *H.B.S.*, XI, 345-8.

JUNE 2, 1688

23

Wee have expressed our Selves at large to Governor Geyer and the rest of the Councell from whome you will Receive a Copy of it in case it bee not for the Safety of our Factory of New Severne, for you to absent your Selfe from it Soe needeing noe more enlargeing herein Wee Comitt you to Divine Proteccion & Remaine

*The rest referred
to the Letter
Sent Govr.
Geyer*

Hudsons Bay house
Londo. 2d June 1688

Your very Loveing Freinds
CHURCHILL Governor
E. DERING Dep. Governor
JOHN HUBAND
JOHN LETTEN
STE. PITTS
SAMUELL CLARKE
NICHOL. HAYWARD
WILL. YONGE

Exd.

The Governor & Company of Adventurers of
England Tradeing into Hudsons Bay
To Capt. George Geyer

*Comission
to Capta.
George Geyer*

By Vertue of the Power & authority to us given by the High & Mighty Monarch Charles the Second our late Sovereigne of Blessed Memory by his Maties. Letters Patents under the Greate [Seal] of England beareing date the Second Day of May in the Two & Twentieth yeare of his Reigne And in Pursuance of and in Submission to his Present Matie. our Sovereigne Lord James the Second King of England Scotland France & Ireland his Gracious Comission under his owne Royall hand and Signe Manuall for the same purpose to you Granted, Wee Doe hereby Constitute and appoint you to be Governor & Cheife Comander of and in Yorke Fort in Hayes River of Port Nelson River Churchill River And of all the Lands Territoryes Forts Isles Rivers Creeks Bayes & Lakes from Cape Henrietta Maria Northwards to the uttmost extent of the Compas. Charter To use and Exercise the said Governemt. & Comand dureing our Pleasure, and all our Comanders of our Forts and all Capts. and Masters of our Shippes or Vessells and all other Officers & psons. whatsoever which are or shalbe ymployed

by us within the Lymmitts aforesaid, are to yeild Obedience unto you, and you are to follow such Orders and Direccions as you shall from tyme to tyme receive from us or from the Governor Deputy Governor and Committee of the said Compa. for the tyme being Given under our hands and Common Seale the Second Day of June Anno Dom. 1688 And in the Fourth yeare of the raigne of our Sovereigne Lord James the Second by the Grace of God King of England Scotland France & Ireland Defender of the Faith &c.

CHURCHILL Governor
E. DERING Dep. Governor
JOHN HUBAND
JOHN LETTEN
STE. PITTS
NICO. HAYWARD
SAMUELL CLARKE
WILL. YONGE

Exd.



*Comission to
Mr. Tho. Walsh*

The Governor & Compa. of Adventurers of
England Tradeing into Hudsons Bay
To Mr. Thomas Walsh

By Vertue of the Power and authority to us Given by the High and Mighty Monarch Charles the Second our late Sovereigne of Blessed memory by his sd. Maties. Letters Patents under the Great Seale of England beareing Date the Second Day of May, in the Two and Twentith yeare of his raigne Wee doe hereby Constitute & appoint you to bee our Cheife at New Severne and alsoe to bee Deputy Governor under Capt. George Geyer of and in Port Nelson Hayes River Churchill River and of all the Lands Territoryes Forts Iles Rivers Creeks Bayes & Lakes from Cape Henrietta Maria Northwards to the utmost extent of the Compas. Charter. And in Case of the Decease of the said Captaine Geyer, you are to Succeede him in the Governemt. and to exercise as Governor there the same Powers and authorityes as are by us granted to the said Capt. Geyer, and this Dureing our Pleasure Given under our hands and Common Seale the Second Day

of June Ann. Dom. 1688 And in the Fourth yeare of the raigne of our Sovereigne Lord James the Second by the Grace of God King of England Scotland France & Ireland Defender of the Faith &c.

L. S.

CHURCHILL Governor
E. DERING Dep. Governor *Exd.*
JOHN HUBAND
JOHN LETTEN
STE. PITTS
NICO. HAYWARD
SAMUELL CLARKE

The Governor & Company of Adventurers of
England Tradeing into Hudson's Bay
To Capt. James Young

Whereas Wee have thought fitt to appoint you Comander of the Good Shipp Called the *Dering* now Bound for Hudson's Bay in our Service These are therefore to Authorize you to goe on Bond [sic] the said Vessell and to exercise the Office of Comander there accordingly and all Officers and Seamen belonging to the said Shipp are to Yeild Obedience to you as their Comander, And you your Selfe are to Obey all such orders and Instruccions as you now have or shall from tyme to tyme receive from the Governor Deputy Governor and Committee in England or from our Governor and Councell in Hudson's Bay Given under our Common Seale Dated in London the First Day of June Anno Dom. 1688 And in the Fourth yeare of the raigne of our Sovereigne Lord James the Second by the Grace of God King of England Scotland France & Ireland Defender of the Faith &c.

*Comission to
Capta. James
Younge to
Command the
Dering*

L. S.

CHURCHILL Governor
E. DERING Dep. Governor *Exd.*
JOHN HUBAND
JOHN LETTEN
STE. PITTS
NICO. HAYWARD
SAMUELL CLARKE
WILL. YONGE

London the First Day of June 1688

Sayleing orders
or Instructions to
Capta. Young

To Sayle to
Churchill
River

and putt on
Shore

wth. Cargoe &c.
to make a
Settlemt.

Then to goe to
Port Nelson

Capt James Young

You are with the first faire wind that presents, to Sayle the Good Ship *Dering* under your Command for *Churchill River*, in Hudsons Bay in the Northwest Parts of America doeing your endeavour to keepe Compa. with the *John & Thomas* Capt. Leonard Edgcombe Comander (whome wee have hired into our Service) soe farr as your Course Shall Lye togeather and being arrived you are to put on shoare these persons followeing (vizt.) Edward Mills Harpeneere, Richard Liddiard,¹ accomptant, John Mackenny,² house Carpenter, Wm. Kirkewood,³ Seaman, Wm. Folder,⁴ Sawyer, besides two Seamen out of your Shippes Company.

Togeather with Sufficient Cargoe Provisions Stores & Amuniccion to erect a Settlemt. and Factory in Churchill River aforesaid in the most Convenient and Comodious place for the building of a house & fort, And that you remaine with them soe long as Reasonably you may, with respect to your goeing afterwards to York fort in Hayes River neare Port Nelson, But Dureing all the tyme

¹ Richard Liddiard (Lydiard) spent his service except for the last thirteen months (August 15, 1690–September 10, 1691) at New Severn. He assisted Thomas Walsh “in blowing up that Factory” (A.1/14, fo. 8) in August 1690 before leaving for York Fort. See pp. 116–128. Liddiard returned to England in 1691.

² According to B.239/d/1, fo. 15d., Mackenny spent the winter of 1688–89 at New Severn. He returned to England in 1693. In the following year he entered into a three-year contract with the Company, but on October 4, 1694, two months after his arrival at York Fort, he was taken prisoner by the French (A.15/4, fo. 107).

³ William Kirkewood also spent the winter of 1688–89 at New Severn according to B.239/d/1, fo. 15d.

⁴ William Foulder (or Folder), “alias Thump the Devil”, was an apprentice at Moose River in 1682, and references to him will be found in *H.B.S.*, VIII, and XI. His apprenticeship ended in 1684, but he continued in the Company’s employ and was taken prisoner when the French captured Albany Fort in July 1686. He returned to England in 1688 and re-joined the Company as a sawyer for four years at £12 per annum. With the other men named above he spent the winter of 1688–89 at York Fort. In September 1692 “Govr. Knight agreed with him at Yorke Fort” and he joined the expedition which re-captured Albany Fort from the French in 1693 (A.15/3 and 4; A.1/9, fo. 15; B.239/d/1, fo. 12d.; B.3/d/1, fo. 5).

of your Stay at Churchill River Wee desire and require you to bee aideing and assisting to our Servants both with your pson. and your Shippes Crew, in forwarding the said building.

Upon your Arriveall at Hayes River you are to give an accompt of what progresse you have made to our said Governor Capt. Geyer ordering him in our names forthwith to Send away the *Colleton* Yacht (if not already Done) with what hands may bee needfull, togeather with the Two Slaves and what else hee Judges necessary for the better Settlement of that River where the said Yacht is to remaine & winter, And you are to Lay your said Shipp up in a Safe place and make Delivery to the Governor of all the Goods Stores & Provisions which remaine on Board, and to Observe the Orders & Direccions of the Governor & Councell there And Wee Doe expect that you Cause all the men under your Comand to bee building or repaireing or Doeing Something for the Service of the Compa. and not to bee Idle for soe many months as your vessell must of necessity bee Laid up, And as a Particuler favour Wee have appointed you to bee One of the Councell amongst them, And Wee assure you Wee shall be much inclined to show our kindnesse to you at your Returne home by the good accompt Wee shall Receive of your Dilligence and Care for the Interest of the Company.

You are Designed by us with the Ship under your Command to bring home our next yeares Cargoe, and Doe expect your utmost Care & faithfullnesse to prevent all Private Trade, And to that Effect as Soon as you shalbe Laden and Dispatched by the Governor & Councell there Wee require you (Wind & weather pmitting) to Sayle Directly for the Port of London without touching at any other place by the way, unlesse there bee absolute necessity, and if it should Soe happen you are to give notice thereof as soon as Possible and to Send us Copy of the Invoice of the Goods on Board your shipp.

If you find any of his Maties. Subjects Tradeing or Sayleing within Hudsons Bay whoe are not ymployed by the Compa. you are to Seize on them in pursuance of the Power given us by his Maties. Letters Patents and of his Maties. late Proclamacion prohibiteing Interlopers, and if you meete with

*And to give
Govr. Geyer an
accot.*

*and he to Send
the Colleton
yatch thither*

*Capta. Younge
To deliver all
goods that shall
remaine at Port
Nelson and there
to Winter &c.*

*and
To be of the
Councell*

*To come home
wth. the next
yeares Cargoe*

*and not touch
at any place*

*To Seize all
Interlopers*

any forreigners tradeing or Saileing within the said Bay you are to Seize their vessells as Lawfull Prize by vertue of the Act of Parliamt. for the Encouragemt. of Navigation.

*Caution of
the French,
and to be
allwayes
in a posture
of Defence
if they have
taken any of
our Forts &c.
to retake them*

Wee Caution you of the Treachery of the French And that you bee allwayes in a Posture of Defence *and if you shall find they have Surprized & Seized on any of our men Forts or Shippes or invaded any of our Rights or Territoryes, Wee expect from your Courage & Conduct, your uttmost endeavour to recover them, And that you will Repossesse us and make us Masters againe of them, before you leave the place,* And bee assured Wee shall bountifully reward any such meritorious Service, not Doubting but in all your actions you will endeavour to Doe what shalbe most for the Honour of the Nation and for the benefitt and advantage of the Compa.

*Service and
Honor of God
recommended
to his care*

Finally Wee Recommend unto your Care, the Service & Honour of God, and Doe require you to have prayers Dayly read on board your Shipp and that the Lords Day bee Duly Observed That soe the Blessing of God may attend you,
Capta. Younge.

Exd.

In case you finde not any of our men already Settled at Churchill River, by order from Govr. Geyer, Then Wee authorize Edward Mills to be cheife Conductor of that Settlemt. and the rest to obey him, untill Governr. Geyer shall take further order to whose Judgmt. wee have left it.¹

CHURCHILL Governor
E. DERING Dep. Governor
JOHN HUBAND
WILL. YONGE
STEPHEN PITTS
NICH. HAYWARD
JOHN LETTEN
SAMUELL CLARKE

¹ See pp. 9, 97, 119, 188. It is not known if Captain Young carried out these orders, or if Geyer arranged for the men to be brought on to York Fort. The accounts for that place (B.239/d/1) show that the men Young was supposed to leave at Churchill River spent the winter of 1688–89 elsewhere. The entry in Kelsey's *Journal* (see 18, n. 2) under date July 28, 1689, suggests that building at Churchill had not long been in progress.

London First June 1688

Capt. Leonard Edgcombe

Wee haveing Laden on Board your Shipp *John & Thomas* what Goods Provisions &c. Wee intend, this Present Voyage for Hudsons Bay It is therefore our Desire & Wee Doe hereby require you upon receipt of this our order to Weigh your Anchor & hasten from Gravesend with all expedition as winde & weather will pmitt., endeavouring to make your First port Yorke Fort in Hayes River neare Port Nelson where when it shall please God you arrive in Safety you are to Deliver to Capt. George Geyer, or any other our Governor & Councell then being our Packett of Letters with all such Goods Provisions &c. Consigned to them, And you are to use your uttmost endeavour to prevent and detect all Private Trade, And if you find any Interlopeing vessells whatsoever Tradeing or Sayleing within Hudson's Bay Without the Lycence of the Company, Wee Doe by these presents by vertue of the Power & authority Given us by the Kings Maties. Letters patents of Incorporacion and in Pursuence of the King's Royall Proclamation lately issued require & authorize you to Seize them and all the Goods Aboard them the One halfe for the use of his Matie. & the other halfe for the use of the Governor & Compa. of Adventurers of England Tradeing into Hudsons Bay, For the Doeing whereof you shalbe Saved harmelesse & indemynified by the said Compa. agt. all such persons whatsoever That shall sue or ymplead you for the same.

Wee Enjoyne you to endeavour what possible you Can to keepe Compa. with our Ship the *Dering* Capt. James Young Comander whoe is bound for Churchill River, as farr as your Course lyes, that you may bee aideing and assisting to each other as Occation shall require.

Wee Caution you to prevent any Treachery or Surprize from the French, and *if they have Surprized any of our men Forts or ships Wee expect from your Courage & Conduct, your uttmost endeavour to recover them and that you will Repossesse us, and make us Masters againe of them before you leave the place, And Bee assured Wee shall bountifully reward any meritorious Service you Shall Doe therein,* And for your further proceeding

*Sayleing orders
or Instructions for
Capta.
Edgcombe*

*To Sayle to
Port Nelson*

*deliver our
packt of Letters
and goods &c.*

*If he meete
with any
Interlopers
to Seize them*

*To keepe
Compa. with
the Dering*

*Caution of the
French
if they have
taken any of
our Forts
to retake them*

you are to Observe the Orders & Direccions of our Governor & Councell there, whome Wee have enjoyned to Call you to their Assistance in all their Consultations dureing the tyme of your Stay with them Beleiveing you will all Unanimously endeavour to act all things as shall be for the Honour of the Nation and the Good and Welfare of your Present employers Soe Commending you to the Proteccion of the Almighty & wishing you a hapy and prosperouse Voyage Wee remaine

Exd.

Your Very Loveing Freinds

CHURCHILL Governor

E. DERING Dep. Governor

JOHN HUBAND

WILL. YONGE

STEPHEN PITTS

NICO. HAYWARD

JOHN LETTEN

SAMUELL CLARKE

The Place
of the Kings
Signett

*His Maties.
Comission to
Govr. Geyer*

James R

James the Second by the Grace of God King of England Scotland France & Ireland Defender of the Faith &c To our Trusty and welbeloved Captaine George Geyer Greeting Wee reposeing especiall Trust and Confidence as well in your Loyalty & Courage as in your fidelity & experience, Doe by these Presents Constitute & appoint you to bee our Governor and Comander in Cheife of all and every our Ports Rivers Factoryes Lands & Territoryes with their Dependencyes Contained and Lyeing in the Northerly part of the Bay within the Streights Commonly called Hudsons Streights in America and in particular of the respective Factoryes Forts and places called or lately called Port Nelson New Severne and Churchill River and of all other places which of late have been in or of right doe belong to us and are or were granted by the Charter of our late Royall Bror. of Blessed Memory to the Governor & Company of Adventurers of England Tradeing into Hudson's Bay and their Successors And Wee doe hereby

authorize & ympower you to maintaine and Defend all such places Factoryes and Territoryes as shalbe under your Command requireing all psons. of what degree soever within the Lymmatts & Precincts of your Commission to bee Obedient to your Commands in all things for the better defence of the said places and promoteing & Secureing the interest and benefitt of the said Hudson's Bay Compa. And if any Shipp or Shippes Vessell or Vessells belonging to any of our Subjects or navigated by such, shall from tyme to tyme bee within the Lymmatts of the said Hudsons Bay, Wee Doe Will & require the Comanders & Seamen belonging to the same and every of them to bee aideing & assisting to you in the Defence and preservation of our rights and places against all Person's whatsoever, according to the Priviledges granted to the said Compa. And Wee Doe further require & Command all our Loveing Subjects to bee aideing & assisting to you and to the said Compa. when and as often as Occation shall require, upon paine of our high Displeasure, and you are to follow & observe such orders & instruccions as you shall from tyme to tyme receive from us or the Governor Deputy Governor & Committee of the said Hudsons Bay Compa. pursuant to the Trust reposed in you Given at our Court at Whitehall the Thirtieth day of May 1688 in the Fourth yeare of our Raigene.

By his Maties. Command
SUNDERLAND¹ P.

James R.

James the Second by the Grace of God King of England Scotland France & Ireland Defender of the Faith &c. To our Trusty & welbeloved Capt. John Marsh Greeting, Wee reposeing especiall Trust and Confidence in your Loyalty & Courage Doe by these presents Constitute and appoint you to

*His Maties.
Comission to
Capta. John
Marsh Govr.
of the Bottome
of the Bay*

¹ Robert Spencer, second Earl of Sunderland (1640–1702). He succeeded his father, Henry Spencer, first Earl of Sunderland, in 1643. In 1688 he was Principal Secretary of State and Lord President of the Council. See *D[ictionary of] N[ational] B[iography]*.

bee our Governor and Comander in Cheife of all and every of our Ports Factoryes Lands and Territoryes with their Dependencyes Contained & lyeing in the Bottome of the Bay within the Streights Commonly Called Hudsons Streights in America and in particuler of the respective Factoryes & Forts called or lately called Albany Fort Moose River and Ruperts River and all other places which of late have been in or of right doe belong to us and are or were granted by the Charter of our late Royall Bror. of Blessed Memory to the Governor & Compa. of Adventurers of England Tradeing into Hudson's Bay and their Successors, And Wee Doe hereby authorize and empower you to maintaine and Defend all such places Factoryes and Territoryes as shalbe under your Command requiring all Persons of what degree soever within the Lymitts and Precincts of your Commission to bee Obedient to your Commands in all things for the better defence of the said places & promoteing and Secureing the interest and benefitt of the said Hudson's Bay Company And if any Shipp or Shipps Vessell or Vessells belonging to any of our Subjects or Navigated by such shall from tyme to tyme bee within the Lymitts of the said Hudsons Bay Wee doe Will and require the Comanders & Seamen belonging to the same and every of them to bee aideing & assisting to you in the Defence & preservation of our rights & places agt. all psons. whatsoever according to the Priviledges granted to the said Compa. And Wee doe further require & Command all our Loveing Subjects to bee aideing & assisting to you and to the said Compa. when and as often as Occation shall require upon paine of our high Displeasure And you are to follow & observe such orders & instructions as you shall from tyme to tyme receive from us or the Governor Deputy Governor & Committee of the said Hudsons Bay Company pursuant to the Trust reposed in you Given at our Court at Whitehall the Thirtieth day of May 1688 in the Fourth yeare of our raigne.

By his Maties. Command
SUNDERLAND P.

The Governor & Company of Adventurers of
England Tradeing into Hudson's Bay

To Capt. John Marsh

*Copies.
Comission to
Capta. Marsh*

By vertue of the Power and authority to us given by the high & mighty Monarch Charles the Second our late Sovereigne of Blessed Memory by his said Maties. Letters Patents under the Great Seale of England beareing date the Second Day of May in the Two and Twentieth yeare of his raigne And in pursuance of and Submission to his Present Matie. our Sovereigne Lord James the Second King of England Scotland France & Ireland his Gracious Commission under his owne Royall hand and Signe Manuall for the same purposes to you granted Wee doe hereby Constitute & appoint you to bee Governor & Cheife Comander of and in the Places commonly called Albany River Moose River and Ruperts River in Hudson's Bay in the Northwest of America and of all the Lands Territoryes Isles Forts Seas Bayes Rivers Creeks & lakes from Cape Henrietta Maria to the Bottome of the Bay and upon the East & West Maine To use & exercise the said Governmt. & Command dureing our Will & pleasure and all our Comanders of our Forts and all Captaines & Masters of our Shippes or Vessells and all other our Officers & psons whatsoever which are or shalbe ymployed by us within the Lymmitts aforesaid are to yeild Obedience to you, and you are to follow such orders and Directions as you shall from tyme to tyme receive from us or from the Governor Deputy Governor & Committee of the said Compa. for the tyme being Given under our hands and Common Seale the Second day of June Anno Dom. 1688 And in the Fourth yeare of the raigne of our Sovereigne Lord James the Second by the Grace of God King of England Scotland France & Ireland Defender of the Faith &c.

CHURCHILL Governor
E. DERING Dept. Governor

JOHN HUBAND
STE. PITTS
JOHN LETTEN
NICHOL. HAYWARD
SAMUELL CLARKE
WILL. YONGE

L. S.

The Governor & Company of Adventurers of
England Tradeing into Hudson's Bay

*The Compies.
Comission to
Capta. Andrew
Hamilton
to be Deputy
Govr. to Capta.
Marsh*

To Capt. Andrew Hamilton

By vertue of the Power and authority to us given by the high and mighty Monarch Charles the Second our late Sovereigne of Blessed Memory by his said Maties. Letters Patents under the Great Seale of England beareing Date the Second day of May in the Two & Twentieth yeare of his Raigne and in pursuance & Submission to his Present Matie. our Sovereigne Lord James the Second King of England Scotland France and Ireland His Gracious Commission under his owne Royall hand and Signe Manuall for the same purpose to you granted Wee doe hereby Constitute and appoint you to bee Deputy Governor under Capt. John Marsh of and in the Places Commonly called Albany River Moose River and Ruperts River in Hudsons Bay in the Northwest of America and of all the Lands Territoryes Isles Forts Seas Rivers and Bayes there and in case of the Decease of the said Capt. John Marsh you are to Succeede him in the Governemt. and to exercise as Governor there the same powers & authorities as are by us Granted to the said Capt. Marsh and this Dureing our Pleasure Given under our hands & Common Seale the Second day of June Anno Dom. 1688 And in the Fourth yeare of the raigne of our Sovereigne Lord James the Second by the Grace of God King of England Scotland France & Ireland Defender of the Faith &c.

L. S.

CHURCHILL Governor
E. DERING Dept. Governor
JOHN HUBAND
WILL. YONGE
JOHN LETTEN
STE. PITTS
NICHOL. HAYWARD
SAMUELL CLARKE

The Governor & Company of Adventurers of
England tradeing into Hudson's Bay

To Capt. Wm. Bond

Whereas Wee have thought fitt to appoint you Comander of the *Churchill* Friggatt now bound for Hudsons Bay in our Service These are therefore to authorize you to goe on board the said Vessell and to exercise the Office of Comander there accordingly and all Officers and Seamen belonging to the said Shipp are to yeild Obedience to you as their Comander and you your Selfe are to Obey all such orders and instruccions as you now have or shall from tyme to tyme receive from the Governor Deputy Governor and Committee in England or from our Governor and Councill in Hudson's Bay Given under our Common Seale Dated in London the First day of June Anno. Dom 1688 And in the Fourth yeare of the raigne of our Soveraigne Lord James the Second by the Grace of God King of England Scotland France and Ireland Defender of the Faith &c.

*Comission
to Capta. Wm.
Bond Comandr.
of the Churchill*

CHURCHILL Governor
E. DERING Dept. Governor
JOHN HUBAND
WILL. YONGE
JOHN LETTEN
STE. PITTS
NICHOL. HAYWARD
SAMUELL CLARKE

To [sic] the Governor & Company of Adventurers of
England Tradeing into Hudsons Bay.

To Capt. John Sympson

Whereas Wee have thought fitt to appoint you Comander of the *Yonge* Friggatt now bound for Hudsons Bay in our Service These are therefore to authorize you to goe on board the said Vessell and to exercise the Office of Comander there accordingly And all Officers and Seamen belonging to the said Shipp are to yeild Obedience to you as their Comander And

*Comission to
Capta. Sympson
Commandr of the
Yonge Frigatt*

you your Selfe are to Obey all such orders and instruccions as you now have or shall from tyme to tyme receive from the Governor Deputy Governor & Committee in England or from our Governor and Councill in Hudson's Bay Given under our Common Seale Dated in London the First day of June Anno Dom. 1688 And in the Fourth yeare of the raigne of our Sovereigne Lord James the Second by the grace of God King of England Scotland France & Ireland Defender of the Faith &c.



CHURCHILL Governor
E. DERING Dept. Governor
JOHN HUBAND
JOHN LETTEN
STE. PITTS
SAMUEL CLARKE
NICHOL. HAYWARD
WILL. YONGE

*Letter from
Ireland about
Interlopers
going to
Hudsons Bay*

Honored Sr.

Here is one thing which I think I ought to give your Honour an accompt of which is thus, That on the 27th of September last past arrived here the *Mary* of London Zachary Bardon¹ Mr. laden with Provisions bound for Hudson's Bay and as Comander and Merchant of her came one Capt. Bardock and Capt. John Abraham's whoe formerly did belong to the Hudson's Bay Compa. and being Disobliged were resolved to goe as Interlopers but as I heare was Stopped then by the Compa. in Some Port of England till the tyme of the yeare was past and at the tyme aforesaid she came here where they laid her up and built an other Deck on her and took into their Partnership Mr. Howell, Mr. Cooke Mr. Norris, Mr. Roberts, Mr. Browne and Mr. Hanckins whoe laded her with Tallow for Holland where they has fitted her with 8 Guns and

¹ See pp. 2, 81. It is not known if this Zachary Bardon was identical with the engaged servant of that name who returned from Hudson Bay in 1679 (*H.B.S.*, VIII, 26).

10 Patararoes all mounted with 30 men and abundance of Small Armes she arrived the other day at Ballimore and the aforesaid Partners has bought here a Shipp of 40 Tonns called the *Humphry & Thomas* alias [?] the *Rainebow* of Corke One Mr. Hand¹ Master they entered her out for Newfoundland and Laded her as Deepe as she Could Swim with all manner of Provisions and Liquors and Mault Mills to Grind it and a Brewing Pan and is gon to the other Shipp in Ballimore in order to goe as interlopers to the Norwest passage or to some of those parts Bardocks and Abrahams Speaks the Country Language they are bound back for Holland I beleive it may bee for the Kings Service and the Companyes good if they Could bee prevented May it please your Honor

Your Honour's most faithfull
Humble Servant

Corke 4th May 1688

P. CODDAN

Directed

To Wm. Colliford Esq.

James R

James the Second by the Grace of God King of England Scotland France & Ireland Defender of the Faith &c. To our Trusty & welbeloved Captaine Andrew Hamilton Greeting Wee reposeing especiall Trust & Confidence in your Loyalty Courage & good Conduct doe by these presents Constitute & appoint you to bee Deputy Governor of all & every of our Ports Rivers Factoryes Lands & Territoryes with their Dependencyes Contained & lyeing in the Bottome of the Bay within the Streights commonly called Hudson's Streights in America and particulerly of the respective Factoryes & Forts called or lately Called Albany Fort Moose River and Ruperts River, whereof our Trusty and Welbeloved Captaine John Marsh is Governor, You are therefore carefully & Dilligently (upon the Death or in the absence of the said Capt. John

¹ See p. 84.

Marsh) to Discharge the Duty of Deputy Governor of the said Forts & Forts by doeing & pformeing all and all manner of things thereunto belonging according to our Comission granted unto the said Capt. John Marsh And Wee doe hereby require & Command all our Loveing Subjects to Obey you as Deputy Governor and to bee aideing & assisting to you as there may bee Occation And you are to Observe and followe such orders & instruccions as you shall from tyme to tyme receive from us or the Governor Deputy Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company in England pursuant to the Trust reposed in you Given at our Court at Whitehall the 30th day of May 1688 in the Fourth yeare of our Reigne

By his Maties. Command
SUNDERLAND P.

*Governor
Marshes
Instructions*

*Being
Recomended
by the Right
Honoble. the
Governor*

*he
to goe on board
the Churchill*

*the service
of God &c.
recomended
to him*

Instructions for Capt. John Marsh

Whereas upon the Recomendation of our Noble Governor the Right Honoble. the Ld. Churchill, Wee have Chosen & authorized you to bee Governor and Cheife Comander beyond the Seas for the Hudson's Bay Company of Albany River Moose River Ruperts River and all other places in the Bottome of the Bay and of all the Lands & Territoryes Isles & Forts Seas Bayes Rivers Creeks & Lakes thereabouts according to the Commission Granted to you by the said Company In which his Sacred Matie. hath allsoe been Gratiously pleased to Confirme you by his owne Royall Commission, you are to goe on Board the Good Shipp Called the *Churchill* Friggatt Capt. William Bond Commander now bound for Albany River in the Bottome of the Bay.

In the First place upon your arriveall, Wee Recommend unto you the Care of the Service and honour of God, that the Common prayer with some part of the Holy Bible bee Dayly read with the Homilyes at least every Lords day and that you punish all Dissolute & prophane psons.

As soone as it please God you arrive at Albany River and have Landed your men you shall ymediately Call them together in some Convenient place, Where Wee require you first in the heareing of them all to Cause your Commission from his Matie. to bee Openly & Distinctly read and after that your Commission in like manner from the Compa. under our Publiq Seale, Which haveing done you shall in some few and proper words exhort & encourage them to the Obedience due & required to the Kings Commission, as allsoe their Dutyes to us, whose Servants they are, whose bread they eate and whose wages they take acquainting them that as you are Impowered to exact a Strict Obedience, soe you are likewise to assure all such as shall Chearfully doe their duties upon all Occations not onely the Companyes kindnesse proportionable to their meritt but alsoe of his Maties. Speciall favour and regard, with what else you shall think Convenient to say for their encouragemt.

Upon his arrivall at Albany River and Landing his men, to reade his Commissions to them and encourage them

Next you are to Consider *to build and settle a Fort & Factory upon such part of that place as by and with the advise of Capt. Bond you shall finde most Convenient* and you are to Constitute a Councell for your better Consulting and determineing upon all Emergencies of our affaires & Concernes, wch. Councell Shall Consist of the psons followeing soe long as you shall find them Discreet & faithfull vizt. nexto your Selfe

To build and Settle a Fort and constitute a Councell vizt. Capta. Bond & others.

Capt. Wm. Bond

Capt. Andrew Hamilton

Capt. John Simpson

Mr. Hugh Verner

Mr. Stephen Sinclaire

To whome you may add any others you shall judge Sober and fitting for such a Trust.

And haveing fortified and Secured your Selves the best you Can against all Enemyes you are to *use all meanes to encourage a Trade with the Indians* and to that purpose Wee have Supplied you with a Convenient Cargoe as you will finde p. the Invoice.¹

To encourage a Trade with the Indians

¹ Copies of the invoices of goods sent to Albany River in 1688 in the *Churchill* and the *Yonge* are in A.24/1, fos. 58-61 ; 65.

*Capta. Bond and
Capta. Simpson
with their Shipp
Crew to attend
and forward the
buildings*

*the next yeare
the Churchill
to come back*

*one to be Sent
next Sommer*

*the Younge
Frigatt to
continue*

*Well Settleing
of this River
of Greate
moment*

*Capta. Hamilton
to be Deputy
Governr.
and to be
treated
accordingly*

*how to carry
himselſe*

Wee have ordered Capt. Bond with his Friggatt and Shipp Company and Capt. John Simpson Comander of the *Yonge* Friggatt with her Crew to attend you all the winter to observe your orders and Directions and with their assistance to forward your building and Fortifications and when the Season pmitts the next yeare the *Churchill* Friggatt haveing left with you such men provisions Stores & Ammunition as she can well spare is to returne for England with the Beavor & Furrs you shall have Traded for, or which you can gett into your possession and in place of the said Friggatt Wee shall Send another vessell directly to you the next Summer with all things Wee shall Judge necessary for your Occations and our Trade, In the interim the *Yonge* Friggatt is allwayes to remaine and abide with you, to observe & execute your Commands and not to depart the place but with your orders and Directions.

You are to understand Wee *look upon the well Settleing of this River to bee of Great Moment* to us, and Wee promise our Selves, you will give such proofes of your prudence fidelity and Courage in Carrying on the Settlemt. of a Factory there as well as Recovering our rights, as just Occation shall present That Wee shall have reason to bee well pleased, that Wee have given you the Conduct of such a Designe, and you may reap the Honour and thanks from his Matie. for your Gallant pformances as well as the due acknowledgmt. & reward from us.

Wee have appointed Capt. Andrew Hamilton as our Deputy Governor in those places hee being Armed likewise with his Maties. Comission to that purpose and you are to treat him with Suitable respect and to look upon him as one in our esteeme & trust, and in case of your Death (which God forbide) hee is to Succeede you in the Governmt.

You must bee Carefull to Carry your Selfe with prudence humanity & Justice towards the Natives which is of great ymportance for the Draweing & ymproveing a Trade and with Lenity & Gentlenesse towards those whoe are under your Command yett soe as not to loose your authority over them, but to bee a good example in every thing your Selfe, that neither they nor wee may have any Cause of Complaint, and

for the better preservation of our Places and that our men may bee more usefull upon any extraordinary Occation Wee doe order and require you to muster & Traine our men and to keepe them in the exercise and understanding of Martiall Discipline, that in case of an enemy at any time they may more Couragiously & unanimously Stand by you and Discharge their Dutyes both to his Matie. & us, and you are allsoe to keepe Strict and Constant Guard & Watch in your Fort & Factory and that you bee at noe tyme Surprized.

*to muster and
traine his men*

and keepe Guard

You are to use your utmost endeavour to prevent and detect all private Trade and in regard Wee heare of Interlopeing designs Carried on by the Assistance of some of those who have formerly Served us, if any such attempts bee made you are to Shew your Courage and Conduct in indeavouring to defeate them and to Seize the Offenders and their Vessells and to Send their psons onely into England where they shalbe Severely prosecuted as Contemners of the Kings Authority and Violators of the Rights and priviledges granted us by his Matie. and in case you meete with any Forreigners tradeing or Saileing within the Lymmitts of our Charter you are to Seize their Vessells as lawfull prize by Vertue of the act of Parliamt. for encouragemt. of Navigation.

*To prevent
private trade*

*and to seize
all interlopers*

His Maties. late Gracious Proclamation in the behalfe of the Company against Interlopers wee would have you affix in your Councill roome and alsoe in some Convenient publick place of the Fort & Factory that all psons whatsoever may take notice of it and of his Maties. Royall Will & Pleasure.

*His maties.
proclamation
agt. Interlopers
now Sent*

As to the French you Cannot bee too Jealous of them but must allwayes bee upon your Guard, to prevent any of their Designes either of fraud or force.

*To be Jealous
of the French*

Neverthelesse if you finde it will redound to the Companys benefitt and proffitt to treat with any of that Nation for larger or Smaller pcells of Furs either in Barter for Goods or for Bills of Exchange to bee Drawne upon us here payable to the Owners of such Furs or their order you may freely doe it and such Bills shalbe punctually Complied with as allsoe you may give passage home in any of our Shippes to any of the said French being of Opinion there are many Discontents of that

*To buy Furs
of them*

*and to give
passage to any
of them home*

*to take care they
be not surprized
by the French*

*Coppy of the
Truce Betweene
our King and
the French King
Sent. wch. is to
be observed.
But if the
French be the
First agressors
to oppose force
with force*

*and to ymprove
it for the Compies.
advantage*

*By some
Indians to
mainteyne a
Correspondecye
betweene them
and New
Severne and
port Nelson*

*A particular
esteeme to be*

Nation whoe would gladly embrace an Opertunity of Secureing their psons and Effects, if they Did imagine wee would thus accomodate them and this method being mannaged faithfully & Cautiously Wee might bee gainers by it and the Canada Trade much ympaired and herein wee would have you allwayes Consult with your Councell, and take their advise upon it, yett would not have you put this in Practice unlesse for some very Considerable parcells and be sure that under Collour of this wee bee not abused nor Surprized.

Wee Send you herewith the Coppy of the Truce Concluded betweene our King and the most Christian King, wch. you See is to forbear all hostilityes and live in good mutuall Correspondencye untill the First of January next, and further untill such other orders come from both Kings wch. wee are enjoyned to require you to observe, The French doeing the like on their parts, but in case the French bee the First agressors and renew new hostilityes and provocations upon you or upon any of your men, Reason then will Dictate to you, and you have free Liberty to oppose force with force and not onely soe in your owne defence But wee doe alsoe order and enjoyne you to pursue your advantages and upon such just oppertunities to recover his Maties. Rights & our's which were unjustly Seized and dureing the quiet behaviour on both sides are onely under deliberation betweene the two Kings And therefore wee referr the Conduct in such Cases of advantage to your resolution and Courage to ymprove the uttmost that you Can in which you may bee Sure to deserve thanks and Rewards both from his Matie. and us too.

Wee would have you my [sic] meanes of some trusty Indians maintaine a frequent Correspondencye betweene your Selves & our Factory at New Severne being the next to you, whereof Mr. Thomas Walsh is Cheife for it will Certainly bee of great importance to them to know how affaires Succeede with you and wee have given the like orders to Governor Geyer at Port Nelson to endeavour the same from thence and New Severne to you at the Bottome of the Bay.

Wee have had long experience of Capt. Bonds fidelity & ability in our Concernes therefore would have you allwayes

shew a particular esteeme to him & respect for his advise, and doe expect you undertake noe matter of moment without his Concurrence dureing his Stay with you, soe that noe designe for the Companyes good may by any misunderstanding betweene you be obstructed in regard wee are very much psuaded his knowledge & Contriveance may bee materiall not onely for the resettleing but alsoe for the future Security and benefitt of the Company's Factoryes and affaires in those parts.

*Shewed Capta.
Bond and to
act nothing
without his
concurrence*

However It is impossible for us at this Distance to give you exact direccions in every pticular how to mannage our affaires but wee must leave much to the Prudence of your Selfe Capt. Bond & the rest of your Councill not doubting but you will all faithfully act what you shall judge to bee for the Honor of the Nation and for the interest proffitt & benefitt of the Company We Rest

*The managemt.
of affaires
Left to him and
his Councill*

Hudsons Bay House
Londo. the 18th June
1688

Your Very Loveing Freinds
CHURCHILL Governor
E. DERING Dept. Governor
JOHN HUBAND
RICHD. CRADOCK¹
JOHN LETTEN
NICH0. HAYWARD
SAMUELL CLARKE
WILL. YONGE
STEPHEN PITTS

Capt. Andrew Hamilton

Wee haveing Chosen you to bee Deputy Governor for the Hudson's Bay Compa. under Capt. John Marsh of Albany River Moose River Ruperts River and all other places in the Bottome of the Bay according to the Compas. Commission, which his Sacred Matie. hath alsoe been Gratiouly pleased at our humble request to Confirme unto you by his owne Royall Commission you are to goe on Board the *Yonge* Friggatt Capt. John Simpson Commander now bound for Albany River in

*Instructions
for Capta.
Hamilton
Deputy Governr.*

*To goe on board
the Yonge
Frigatt*

¹ For a biographical note, see *H.B.S.*, VIII, 336.

*to give his
Assistance to
Governr. Marsh
and Capta. Bond
in building a Fort
& Factory*

*to observe all
orders he shall
receive*

*to prevent
private Trade*

*To seize all
Interlopers*

*The Truce
betweene our
King and the
French King
to be observed*

*But if they
committ
Hostillities
then to oppose
Force with force*

*To ymprove it
for the Compies.
advantage*

the Bottome of the Bay, God Almighty granting you Safely to arrive there, you are to give your aide and Assistance to your said Governor Marsh and to Capt. William Bond to build and Settle a Fort and Factory for us in the said River and to that effect have Sent Sufficient Stores provisions & amunition as alsoe goods for Trade as will appeare by the Invoyce and Bill of Ladeing Directed to the said Governor Marsh Wee have intimated our desires to him, that hee treat you with respect and look upon you as one in our Esteeme And Wee doe hereby require and enjoyne you to Observe and putt in execution all such orders and directions as you shall from tyme to tyme receive from him.

You are to use your utmost endeavours to prevent & detect all Private trade and if you find any interlopeing vessells whatever tradeing or Sayleing within Hudsons Bay without the Lycence of the Company Wee do by these presents by vertue of the Power and authority given us by the Kings Maties. Gracious Letters Patents of incorporation and in pursuance of the Kings Royall Proclamation lately yssued out require and authorize you to give your aide & assistance to Seize them and all the goods on board them.

Wee Send you herewith the Copy of the Truce Concluded betweene our King and the most Christian King, which you See is to forbear all Hostilityes and to live in good mutuall Correspondencye untill the First of January next and further untill other orders come from both Kings which wee are enjoyned to require you to Observe the French doeing the like on their parts But in case the French bee the first aggressors and renew new Hostilityes and provocations upon you or upon any of your men then reason will dictate to you, and you have liberty to oppose force with force, and not onely soe in your owne defence, but wee doe alsoe order and enjoyne you to pursue your advantages, and upon just opertunityes to recover his Maties. Right & our's, which were unjustly Seized and Dureing the quiett behaviour on both sides are onely under deliberation betweene the two Kings, And therefore wee referr the Conduct in such Cases of advantages to the resolution and Courage of your Governor and your Selfe, to ymprove the

utmost that you Can, in which you may bee Sure to deserve thancks and rewards both from his Matie. and us too.

In case of the Decease of the said Capt. John Marsh your Governor (which God forbidd) Wee Doe hereby Nominate and appoint you to Succeede him in the Governemt. and to exercise as Governor there pursuant to the instruccions wee now give to the said Capt. Marsh & your Selfe, and to those wee shall hereafter Send to either of you, Altho. Wee have Constituted you our Deputy Governor in those parts under Capt. Marsh, and to Succeede him in his power in case of his Decease yett our expresse pleasure is that Capt. Wm. Bond Comander of our *Churchill* Friggatt dureing his Stay in the Bottome of the Bay doe take place in Councell and elsewhere next imediately to Governor Marsh, and Wee enjoyne you to pay all Defference and Civill respect to the said Capt. Bond in this Particuler whose experience & Judgment in the makeing of our New Settlemt. wee much Confide in And therefore require you not to obstruct the Peace and Common Good of our Concernes by any Punctilios of Disputes in this kinde Wee rest

*If Capta. Marsh
dyes then Capta.
Hamilton to be
Governr. and
exercise as Govr.
pursuant to the
instructions given
Govr. Marsh*

*to pay all
respects to
Capta. Bond*

Hudson's Bay House
London the 18th June
1688

Your very Loveing freinds
CHURCHILL Governor
E. DERING Dep. Governor
JOHN HUBAND
RICHD. CRADOCK
JOHN LETTEN
NICO. HAYWARD
SAMUEL CLARKE
WILL. YONGE
STEPHEN PITTS

Instructions for Capt. William Bond

Upon the experience Wee have had of your Faithfull Service to the Hudson's Bay Compa. for whome wee are intrusted and the good Opinion Wee have of your Courage & Continueall faithfullnesse upon all Occations to the Welfare

*Capta. Bonds
Instructions*

*To Comand the
Churchill
Frigatt*

& interest of the said Compa., Wee have Chosen you to Command the *Churchill* Friggatt not doubting but you will Shew your Prudence & Conduct in an expedition as Honoble. as it may prove advantageous both to us and you, and soe behave your Selfe in all things as becomes you for the interest & advantage of the Company and for your owne reputation.

In order whereunto wee give you these followeing instruccions.

*To Sayle to the
Bay to keepe
company with the
Yonge Friggatt*

*to erect a Fort
and Factory at
Such place as
Govr. Marsh
shall appoint to
deliver him all
necessary Stores
& provisions*

*and to winter
there*

*and the next
yeare to come
home, with
such Furrs as
they have gott*

In the First place you are to Sayle for the said Bay Wind & weather pmitting endeavouring to keepe the *Yonge* Friggatt Capt. John Sympson in your Company and being arrived in the said Bay you are to apply to Albany River and there erect & build a Fort & Factory for the said Company at such place as Capt. John Marsh our Governor and Comander in Cheife and you shall judge most Convenient for Settling a Trade and all other advantages and to that end you are to Deliver to the said Capt. John Marsh all the necessary Stores you have on board and with your Shipps Company to give him all aide & assistance for the building Fortifyeing Settling and finishing of the said Fort and you are to Observe his Orders & Direccions dureing your Stay in the Country you are likewise to Deliver him all your Provisions and Amuniccion (Excepting what are necessary for your Shipps Compa.) and to remaine & abide with him all the next winter and when the Season pmitts the next yeare haveing Supplied the Fort with such men Guns and Amuniccion as you can well Spare, you are with all the Beavor & Furrs that shalbe traded or which you Can gett into your possession to returne back to the Port of London.

Wee Doubt not but you will Shew your Selfe zealous to Vindicate the Honour of his Maties. Prerogative and authority, which is invaded by Interlopers Wherefore if you meete with any English Tradeing or Sayleing within Hudson's Bay Wee hereby authorize & require you to Seize on them (in case they are not employed by the Company) in pursuance of the Powers given us by his Maties. Letters Pattents and of his Maties. late Proclamacion Prohibiteing Interlopers and if you meete with any Forreigners tradeing or sayleing within the said Bay Wee doe by these presents in like manner require

*To Seize all
Interlopers*

and authorize you to Seize their Vessells as Lawfull Prize by vertue of the Act of Parliamt. for encouragemt. of Navigation if they are french you have respect to his Maties. late Truce Concluded with the French King but in case they doe you in any manner of Injury by Sea or Land you are then to right your Selfe and us, and not onely to repell force with force but to pursue any advantages to the utmost for the Recovering of his Maties. Honour and our Justs rights & propertyes and for the utter extirpating any Forreigner out of our Priviledges and Territories.

*If French to
have respect to
his Maties.
Truce concluded
wth. the French
King but if they
offer injury to
right himselfe*

If it shall soe happen that you shall Dye in this Voyage (wch. God forbid) Wee then hereby nominate Miller¹ Cheife Mate to Succeede in your Command and to Follow & execute the same Instruccions & orders, wch. wee give you.

*Mate Miller
to Succeede
Capta. Bond*

In Case you have from tyme to tyme any thing to Comunicate to the Governor which may tend to the Compas. benefett, Wee require you to doe it not doubting but there wilbee a true understanding betweene you soe that the Companyes Honour and interest may bee promoted & advanced.

*to communicate
all to the
Governor*

Wee doe alsoe authorize & require you to Weare the King's Jack dureing your being within the Bay, upon any Occation you shall finde most requisite not onely as wee esteeme and Constitute you our Admirall in those parts & Seas, but in token and recognition of his Maties. right to all those Seas Rivers Creeks Lands & Territories, which accordingly Wee Comand you to assert vindicate recover maintaine and Defend upon all the just occations you shall meete with.

*To weare the
Kings Jack
in the Bay
he made
Admirall there*

But when Wee have said all, wee must leave much to your prudent Conduct haveing allwayes in your eye the true interest & advantage of the Compa. whoe have Chosen and trusted you in soe Considerable a Station & Command.

*to minde the
Compies.
interest*

¹ James Miller. He was taken prisoner by the French at Albany River in December 1688 (see p. 82). He was sent by canoe to Canada and then to La Rochelle, France, where he was still held in October 1691 (A.9/4, fo. 16-16d.), but was in London by November 23 following. He left a narrative of his "Voyage" with the Secretary, but this has not survived in the Company's archives (A.1/14, fo. 7).

*Service of God
recommended
to him*

Finally Wee Recommend unto you the Care of the Service of God & Doe require you to have Prayers dayly read on board the vessell under your Command that soe the Blesseing of God may attend your endeavours in our Service, and tho this bee here given you last in Charge, Wee hope it will bee first in your resolucion and Care and bee put in practice from your first Setting out with our Vessell Wee rest

Your very Loveing Freinds

Hudson's Bay House
London 18th June 1688

CHURCHILL Governor
E. DERING Dept. Governor
JOHN HUBAND
RICHD. CRADOCK
JOHN LETTEN
NICHOL. HAYWARD
STEPHEN PITTS
SAMUELL CLARKE
WILL. YONGE

*Instructions for
Capta. John
Simpson*

Capt. John Simpson

*To command
the Yonge
Friggatt*

You are with the First Opertunity of Winde & Weather to Sayle the Good Shipp the *Yonge* Friggatt under your Comand for Albany River in Hudson's Bay in the Northwest parts of America doeing your endeavours to keepe Compa. with the *Churchill* Friggatt Capt. Wm. Bond Comander But in the First place Wee recommend unto your Care, the Service & honour of God, And Doe require you to have prayers dayly read on board your Shipp, And that the Lds. day bee Duely Observed that soe the Blessing of God may attend you; And you being Safely arrived in Albany River, you are with all your Shippes Compa. to give your uttmost help and Assisstance to Capt. John Marsh our Governor and to Capt. Wm. Bond in the building and Settleing of a Fort and Factory for us, And from tyme to tyme to Obey and Observe the Orders and Commands of the said Capt. Marsh, or any other whoe shalbe Governor there for us. your Vessell designed to remaine in the Country for the Service & Security of the said Factory,

*the service of
God &c. to be
minded*

*To sayle for
Albany River and
keepe compie.
with. Capta. Bond*

*To assist in
erecting a Fort
& Factory, and
to Stay in the
Country to Obey
Govr. Marsh &*

according to the Tenor of your Contract with us, unlesse & untill wee shall otherwise direct & appoint, And as a Marke of our favour Wee have Nominated you to bee One of the Councill, not doubting but you will soe behave your Selfe, with that fidelity Courage & Conduct for the mainteynance & Defence of our places & rights, that wee shalbe well pleased to have bestowed the Command of this Vessell on you assuring you Wee shall bee much inclined to Shew our kindnesse Suitable to the relation Wee shall receive of your Dilligence and Care for the interest of the Company.

Wee Caution you of the Treachery of the French and that you bee allwayes in a posture of Defence but if you find any of his Maties. Subjects tradeing or Sayleing within Hudson's Bay, whoe are not employed by the Compa. you are to Seize on them their Shipps & Goods in pursuance of the Power given us by his Maties. Letters Patents and of his Maties. late Gracious Proclamation prohibiteing Interlopers, but yett to act therein Conformable to such orders as you shall receive from the Governor.

In case of your Decease (which God forbidd) Wee Nominate & appoint your Cheife Mate to Succeede you in the Command of the said Shipp Wee rest

Your very Loveing Freinds

Hudsons Bay House
Londo. 18th June 1688

CHURCHILL Governor
E. DERING Dept. Governor
JOHN HUBAND
SAMUEL CLERKE
RICHD. CRADOCK
WILL. YONGE
JOHN LETTEN
STEPHEN PITTS
NICH. HAYWARD

*behave himselfe
with courage &c.*

*take care of the
treachery of the
French*

*Seize all
Interlopers*

*Letter to Govr.
Marsh and the
Councell*

*M. the Royall
Hudsons Bay
Friggott
In in her
intended Voyage
mett wth. a
French privateer
and was soe
Dissabled that
She could not
proceede this
yeare
Soe this Letter
did not goe
nor was any
ship sent this
yeare;
soe none of the
followeing
Letters or papers
were this yeare
Sent ⁴*

Governor Marsh¹ and the rest of the Councell in the Bottome of the Bay

Wee hope your Selfe with Capt. Bond and Capt. Simpson Safely arrived at your desired Port, the last yeare, and that you have laid the Foundation of a happy Settlemt. there, In Confidence whereof Wee now send the *Royall Hudsons Bay*² Friggatt Capt. Leonard Edgcombe Comander with fresh Supplyes of all wee Could Judge necessary for you, Invoyce whereof goes here inclosed you will find wee have not been Spareing in either goods Stores or Provisions for the Support of our People or advance of Trade.

Since your Departure Surprizeing changes have happened in this Kingdome vizt. the Prince of Orange comeing hither with an Army many of the Nobility and Soldiery Sideing with him King Jame[s] leaveing the Kingdome and the Prince & Princesses of Orange being Advanced to the Throne, for particulers referr you to the Printed papers herewith sent.

Warr hath been Proclaimed betweene England and France Therefore if your Fort is not allready finished wee presse you earnestly to Strengthen it with all possible dilligence, and expedicion and in regard of the Alteration of Governmt. Wee have sent you a Commission³ from their Maties. King Wm. and Queene Mary with power to recover the severall Forts of Albany Moose and Ruperts Rivers and alsoe the Goods and effects the French injuriously tooke from us, with reprizealls for damages, you are likewise thereby impowered to make Alliances with the Indians, soe that the Treaty of Newtrality Stipulated betwixt us, and France in the late King James tyme, and which wee have good reason to beleive was only intended as a Snare, is now wholly out of door's and you are to prosecute your advantages upon all occasions against the

¹ Marsh had died at the Bottom of the Bay on January 30, 1689. See p. 82. His account, including a "benevolence of £20", was settled with his widow, Elizabeth Marsh, in May 1690 (A.1/12, fo. 15d.).

² The frigate *Royal Hudson's Bay* of about one hundred and fifty tons burden was built by John Taylor in 1689. Michael Grimington was appointed mate to Captain Edgcombe (A.1/11, passim). Cf. p. 85, and see p. 94n.

³ See pp. 70-2.

⁴ See p. 93.

French as against Open and Declared Enemyes, Capt. Edgcombe hath alsoe their Maties. Comission of which you may together Serve your Selves as you see Occasions.

Immediately upon Receipt of this Comission (the former being void) you are in presence of your whole Company to Publish it together with the Proclamacon¹ enclosed and all men are to take the Oath of Allegiance to King William & Queene Mary round the whole factory &c. And pursuant to your Comission you are forthwith to Summon to a Surrender and by force of Armes to Recover Seize and take our aforementioned Forts if not allready Recovered, in case the least refuseall or delay bee made as alsoe to take any French Shippes or goods whatsoever towards reparacions of the losses and Damages by us Sustained from that Nation, And use your uttmost endeavour's to drive them from any the Places or Factoryes, formerly belonging to the English, Wee depend highly upon your Courage and Conduct not doubting but the French former Surprize will Sufficently Caution you, to keepe Constant Guard and for the better encouragemt. of your men in their Duty Wee doe hereby promise and assure you and them, that Wee will take Care by way of Pension for such of them as haveing behaved themselves with Courage and fidelity shalbe wounded and the Wives and Children of those whoe shall happen to bee killed in our Service, It being now the onely proper tyme, for English men to Exert their Antient Bravery in retriueall of this nations honour soe extraordinary tainted by the negligence & Cowardice of Sergeant your Predecessor and be Confident that noe brave action pformed in defence or recovery of any places or Factoryes shall passe ungratified.

*Servts. to take
Oath of
Alegiance to King
&c.*

*to make Reprisals
of Factory
French Ships &c.*

*dependance on
your Courage &c.*

*Pension
Promised*

The *Hudson's Bay* Friggatt and her Company are to winter with you to assist your designes and in the Spring to take in such goods as you have Traded and with them to touch at Port Port Nelson and receive their Cargoe & thence returne home, Purposeing (God Willing) next yeare as this Comes to you, by way of Port Nelson, soe to Send Capt. Bonds Friggatt back the same way with all necessaryes both of Provisions and

*HB Friggatt to
Winter*

*Capt. Bond to
come next year*

¹ For a copy of the proclamation sent to Marsh and Geyer see pp. 75-6.

Trade and this method will give mutuall satisfaccion to each place.

*at return of
Capt. Bond to
send Accot. all
Concerns*

Wee hope by the returne of said Capt. Bond to receive an exact acco. of all our Concernes particularly what goods you have traded and what remaines of each Sort, either goods or Provisions or Stores which pray observe every yeare to write for, that wee may the better know, how to Supply you, as likewise to send us an Annuall Journall of particulers occurring worthy our knowledge and of all transaccions in Generall.

*Convey Letters to
the other
Factorys by the
Indians*

Beyond question you may have found meane of Trusty Indians for Conveyance of Letters to New Severne, and frequently to gaine Intelligence of each others Condicion which may bee Transmitted from thence to Port Nelson by other Indians and soe by degrees back againe to you, whereby good designes may bee formed to our advantage and bad ones prevented as alsoe if necessity should require any Factory may bee in the Summer tyme releived by Shipping from the other.

*advantages
thereof*

*not to
Correspond with
the French on
any Account
whatever*

Altho last yeare you were permitted to Treat with any French for their Beavor and to send them home, Wee must tell you that now in these dangerous tymes, Wee Judge it wholly unfitt to putt in Practice because upon Pretence of Trade they may Come to your Factory's to Spy your Strength and from thence take oportunity to surprize, Soe Wee Caution you against any manner of Communicacion with the French as the most Perfidious of all nations.

*to get Sea Horse
Teeth, Seal Skins
Castorum &c.*

Wee Desire your Incouragemt. to the Indians, to seeke for Sea Morse Teeth Seale Skins Castorum any Druggs or Dyeing Ware upon your Promise to Trade them being of opinion there are Severall good Comodityes to bee had in those parts, of which as yett wee have had noe knowledge and particularly Wee are Informed that in some places great quantityes of Sea Morse Teeth may bee had and even taken up for nothing enough to Ballast, a Shipp, Which Wee require your industry and enquiry into Declareing That from henceforwards Wee shall and doe looke upon that as the Compas. Comodity as Wee have allready declared Castorum to bee and doe prohibit all our Servants to deale therein but onely for our accompt,

Thus Comitting you to the Proteccon of the Allmighty Wee
rest

Hudsons Bay House
London the 6^o June
1689

Your very Loveing Freinds¹
E. DERING Dept. Governor
JOHN HUBAND
WILL. YONGE
SAMUEL CUDWORTH²
RICHARD CRADOCK
SAMUEL CLARKE
NICHOL. HAYWARD

Postscript

Since there is now an open Warr betweene the King of England and the French King, and the French about Canada have used to boast amongst the Indians the power of their king and impudently pretended that all the English were but Slaves to them, and soe by lyes and impudence they used to deceive and frighten the poore Indians; you are now upon all occasions to lett the Indians understand as well as you can the true state of our affaires at home, as to the Settlemt. of our king and Queene upon the Throne, and that the late king haveing deserted his Subjects by the Evill Councells of the French (who disturbue all the world) our king and Queene have first declared the Warr to bring downe the Tyrrany and arbitrary power of the French king and that all the princes of Europe are likewise in alliance to that purpose with our king. And that all Such Indians as will joyne with you and the English nation you will assist and protect as freinds, But all Indians that hold in any alliance with or doe assist or trade with the French you will looke upon as Enemies.

*Warr with
France*

*Encourage the
Indians to join
with you against
the French*

And in this condition of constant perill from the French, you are the rather now to traine and marshall your men, as wee writt to you to doe the Last yeare, and make them expert in

¹ For the names of the men elected in November 1688 to serve for one year as Governor, Deputy Governor and on the Committee, see Appendix A, p. 305.

² Samuel Cudworth of London, merchant, held varying amounts of Hudson's Bay Company stock from 1688 to 1695. He was elected a Committee Member in November 1688, and was re-elected in 1689 and 1690.

their Armes, and inspire Courage, and a noble indignation, into them, against that perfidious nation, wch. wee doubt not but you will doe and shew a greate Example of it your Selfe, when a just occasion offers but not needlessly expose your Selfe and our Factory, for prudence is as necessary and as Laudable as Courage. And because of the uncertainty of all events in this danger of the Seas, Wee must recommend to you to be the greater husbands of our provisions and to encourage your men as well as the Indians to gett fresh provisions by hunting fowling and fishing at all Seasons when they can wch. will lengthen out the provisions wee send you for you must consider it must be a miracle of Gods providence if Some tyme or other a shipp doe not miscarry during this warr, wch. may putt you to hard Shifts, and therefore in the greatest plenty of all things its wisdome to provide further and to be frugall.

*Frugality &
good
Husbandry
advised
reasons for it*

Wee doe conceive that at this Juncture of tyme when wee run through Soe greate hazards to come to you and that the charge of Seamen, is neare double wt. it used to be it is highly reasonable to advance our Standard of trade accordingly the method of wch. is however left to your discretion Soe to mannage as not to give any disgust to the Natives.

*to advance the
Standard of
Trade*

Wee have greate hopes of Capta. Edgcombs dilligence and Vigour in our Service Requireing you to treat him with all Civillity and respect, whome we doe appoint one of your Councell during his stay with you.

*Hopes of Capt.
Edgcombe*

Yours

ED. DERING Depty. Govr.
SAM. CLARKE
NICHOL. HAYWARD

Letter to Capta. Hamilton

Capt. Hamilton

Wee hope this will find you, well Settled in a Convenient place at the Bottome of the Bay, and that in Due tyme Wee

*hopes of being
well settled at
Bottom of the
Bay*

may (God willing) receive an accompt of it by Capt. Bonds returne about September or October next whoe wilbe much more welcome bringing such good news.

*expect account of
it p. Capt Bond.*

Since your Departure has happened a wonderfull change in the Governmt. King James haveing left it and King Wm. & Queen Mary being Seated in the Throne the offer of the Crowne of Scotland to them and all other Circumstances you will find at large in the Severall Printed papers, wee have Sent for your better Informacion.

*Revolution in
the Governmt.*

Upon these Alteracions It was absolutely necessary to Procure New Comissions from their Present Maties. which wee have done your's¹ goes here inclosed Containeing the same with your former with Severall additions, vizt., to regaine and recover the Forts and Factoryes formerly belonging to us, And to Seize & reprize from the French (against whome Warr hath been Declared) all all shippes goods and Effects whatsoever, In Pursuance to which Comission Wee expect you should shew your Valour, and Courage in order to Recover & repossesse what wee lately lost through the Negligence of our People Whoe shamefully suffered the French to surprize them to our exceeding great Losse and Damage But Wee haveing put you into soe Considerable a place of Comand and Trust doubt not, but you wilbee an example, of Bravery and Resolucion to others for the Honour, of the Nation and the Benefitt of the Company; And for the obtaineing our Just designes, Wee are Sending to your aide and Assistance, a new shipp Called the *Royal Hudson's Bay* Friggott Capt. Leonard Edgcombe Comander with a Considerable number of men whoe are to Winter with you, and with Gods Blessing will be force Sufficient to make us entire Masters, of those parts, And tho. you had a large proporcion of all Sorts of goods last yeare, Wee have not been narrow handed in makeing further Supplyes for our Trade to Promote which wee expect you should use your uttmost Skill Care & Dilligence and for your greater Security you are ordered to make alliances with Such Indians, as may bee of Service to you but to hold noe manner of

*procured new
Commissions with
Additions*

*to make
reprisals of the
French*

*expectation's
from your
Courage*

*Sendg.
Assistance*

*Royal H.B.
Friggate Capt.
Edgcombe*

*Supplys Good for
Trade*

*to make Alliances
with Indians*

¹ See pp. 72-3. The "Severall additions" referred to above are contained only in Captain Marsh's commission (p. 71).

*to have no
Correspondance
with the French*

Correspondence or Comunicacion with the French as being a Perfidious Nation and our Declared Enemyes.

For further Peticulers Wee referr you to our Generall Letter not doubting but your Conduct wilbe such as will Continue & encrease our good thoughts towards you, Soe Comitting you to the Proteccion of the Allmighty Wee rest,

Hudsons Bay House
Londo. the 6th June
1689

Your Assured Loveing Freinds
E. DERING Dept. Governor
JOHN HUBAND
WILL. YONGE
RICHD. CRADOCK
SAMUELL CLARKE
NICHOL. HAYWARD
SAMUEL CUDWORTH

*Letter to
Capta. Simpson*

*by Capt.
Edgcombe*

*to give him
advise &
Assistance*

*Revolution in the
Governmt.*

*Warr with.
France*

*to be on your
Guard*

*to annoy &
attack them*

*good opinion of
your endeavours*

Capt. Simpson

This with Gods Blessing wilbe Delivered you by Capt. Leonard Edgcombe Comander of the *Royall Hudsons Bay* Friggatt whoe with a good number of Able Seamen is Sent to Winter with you, and you are to give him your best advise and Assistance where his Shipp may lye with most Safety & Convenience.

There hath been a great Change in the Governmt. Since you left us King James haveing Deserted the Kingdome and King Wm. & Queene Mary Crowned King & Queene, the Peticulers you will See at large by the Severall Printed papers, transmitted to you.

Upon these Revolucions of affaires Warr hath been Declared against France, soe that it behooves you to Stand upon your Guard to prevent any Surprize and as enemy's to take all oportunityes to annoy and attack them, and to regaine and recover all our Places for which their Maties. have given expresse Comissions Wee doubt not but you will upon all Occasions shew your forwardnesse and resolucion in whatever

JUNE 6, 1689

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may tend to our Service Suitable to the good Opinion Wee
have of you, and with hearty Recomendations Rest

Your Loveing Freinds

Hudsons Bay House
London 6^o June 1689

E. DERING Dept. Governor
JOHN HUBAND
WILL. YONGE
RICHD. CRADOCK
SAMUEL CLARKE
NICHOL. HAYWARD
SAMUEL CUDWORTH

A Letter to Governor Geyer and the Rest of
the Councill at Port Nelson

Wee Received yours of the 15th September last p. Capt. Edgcombe whoe arrived the 23d October with our Cargoe according to Invoice, In Answer to which Wee take notice of your Care in our affaires and wee shall make returns Suitable to your Dilligence in our Concernes and your Constant endeavours to Improve our Trade.

*his Letter &c.
Recd. p. Capt.
Edgcombe*

*take notice of
your Care*

Wee Send you this yeare two Shipps, both new built by our Selves into the Bay vizt. The *Royall Hudson's Bay* Friggatt Comanded by Capt. Leonard Edgcombe, and the *Northwest Fox*¹ by Capt. John Ford, The first is to touch at the mouth of Hayes River to Deliver the Provisions and Stores you wrote for, and to receive such Tobaccos Gunns; &c. as shalbe necessary The particulers of all which being here Inclosed, And with all possible expedition not tarryeing with you beyond two or Three dayes at most, Hee is to apply to the Bottome of the Bay and to winter there, and to deliver to Governor Marsh

Send two Ships

*one to winter at
the Bottom of Bay*

¹ The frigate *Northwest Fox* of about forty tons burden was built for the Company by John Taylor in 1689 (A.1/11, fos. 7-9). For an account of her capture by the French off the Scilly Islands on the 1689 voyage see p. 93. On July 18, 1689, Captain Ford wrote to the Governor and Committee from Brest informing them that the *Northwest Fox* was to be sold, and arrangements were accordingly made "to employ some person in France" to buy the vessel for a price not exceeding £200 (A.1/11, fo. 27d.). Except for the reference to her on p. 99, no further information about the vessel has been traced.

*other Capt. Ford
to make a
Settlemt.
Northwd. CR*

*expect a Trade
begun with the
poet Indians*

*Capt. Youngs
return this
year to Send
Capt. Ford to
further
Discovery*

*relyance on
Capt. Fords
Promise*

*o Send
Buffeloes
Moose Skins &c.*

the remainder of her Provisions and Goods, and the next yeare in her returne, to touch (God willing) at your Port againe, and bring away your homeward Cargoe, But *Capt. Ford is with his Vessell with all Dilligence to make a Settlemt. to the Northward, of Churchill River*, and without losse of tyme to pursue, the designe Wee hope you have already begun, of Createing a Trade with the Poet Indians Wee are glad to heare there is very good wood & deepe water, in that River, and of soe great likelyhood to gett Commerce with those Northerne People, Observeing what you hint, that altho those Called the Louzy Indians have little Beavor, yett our fixing in that place may bee a Certaine means, to obtaine a Trade with the Doggside Indians, a Considerable Nation & haveing great quantityes those two Nations yearly Commercing togeather *Wee expect by Captaine Yonge to receive Encouragemt. upon this designe, Tho in the regard of the necessity of his returne this yeare, hee may want tyme, to make a thorough discovery there,* Neverthesse wee order you with all Expedition to *Send Capt. Ford this Season with a Small Cargoe to make a Second attempt, and to winter there,* being perswaded those remote parts, will in a little while much answere our expectacion *Capt. Ford* upon whose Conduct in this matter wee very much rely has promised his Dilligence, and best endeavours, *whatever is wanting to further soe honourable an undertakeing you are to Supply him with hopeing by future Industry in the Discovery and advance of our Trade* some amends will bee made, for former remissnesse.

Wee would have you *send home, what Buffeloes, Moose Skins, Sea Morse¹ teeth Seile Skins or any New Comodity you Can meete with, at the Cheapest prizes you Can* which is left to your Discrecion and especially bee industrious, in getting a Trade of Sea Morse Teeth of which wee heare in some places great quantity's may bee had, and which Wee Declare from henceforth to bee the Companyes Comodity and doe prohibite any of our Servants to deale in or to Conceale.

Wee are told there are Severall Sortes of Dyeing Wares in

¹The sea-horse or walrus, *Trichechus rosmarus*. See O[xford] E[n]glish D[ictionary].

your parts, pray Send us Samples of each which lett bee Marked & Numbred in your booke, that should wee have Occasion to Write for them you may know them by those markes & numbers.

*to Send us
Dyeing Wares*

It hath Pleased Allmight God to permitt a Wonderfull Change in those parts as the Prince of Oranges Landing here with an Army the Desercion of King James his forces his retireing out of the Kingdome, and the Prince & Princesse of Orange comeing to the Throne and haveing been Proclaimeed & Crowned King & Queene of England &c. as at large you will perceive by the Bundle of Printed papers, Sent herewith which Wee were willing to make a Collection of for your fuller understanding our affaires here, which was too tegious to write, God Grant all may bee for his Glory And Wee doe require you to Proclayme the King & Queene, and to take the Oaths of Allegiance round the Factory.

*Revolution in
the Governmt.*

*Proclaime King
& take Oaths of
Alligiance*

Upon these Alteracions of Affaires Wee have obtained for you a New Comission from their Maties. King Wm. & Queene Mary which goeth herewith Imediately upon receipt of it and the Proclaymacon¹ inclosed made you are to Publish both in Presence of all your Company (Your former Commission being void) Noe wayes doubting your Courage and fidelity for the Mainteynance, and defence, of our rights and Territoryes, against all Pretenders whatsoever.

New Commission

*relyance on your
Courage*

You will find Open Warr & Hostillity Proclaymed betweene us and the French wherefore you ought now more especially in these tymes of danger, not onely to bee Constantly upon your Guard, to prevent any Surprize, but to act alsoe Couragiously in all Occasions you Can against the French as Declared Enemyes for the Honour of our Country according as your Comission directs you Questionlesse their late Crueltyes to our People, and the misfortune wee have Suffered by their Inhumane Treatmt. will awaken your Dilligence and Care by all Opertunityes to recover some amends, for our great damages Wee have Sustained by them.

*Warr with
France*

*to be on your
Guard*

Wee require you to add what Strength you can to your Fort and order the same to bee done at New Severne that you

*to Strengthen
your Fort &
order the same
at New Severn*

¹ See pp. 75-6.

*Pensions &c.
Promis'd*

*dependance of
your Bravery*

*prohibit all
Concerns with
French*

*Alliances with
the Indians*

*expect
Correspondance
is Settled
between the
Factorys*

Goods Sent

*Servts. to Trade
their Trappings*

may want nothing to defend those places for which you must bee accomptable if an Enemy Assault you, And Wee doe hereby declare & promise, that as wee will allwayes have a particuler regard for any Meritorious Service soe wee shall by way of Pension take Care of them whoe haveing behaved themselves, gallantly and with Courage, happen to bee wounded and the wives and Children, of such as are killed in our Service and in defence of our Forts, And wee are soe well pswaded of your affection to our Service and of your Prudent Conduct That Wee question not but that you will bee an example, to those under your Comand, and by your Bravery and Resolucion retrieve the Discredit of the English for the losse of the Bottome of the Bay by their Negligence, purposeing to reward all behaveing themselves with Gallantry as now there will bee Opertunity and Tryall betweene us and the French.

The Liberty granted last yeare to Treat with any Stragling French happening to Come with Beavor your way is what wee must absolutely prohibite in these tymes of Danger, unlesse to bee done without the least hazard, wherein Wee desire your extraordinary Caution they exceeding all other nations in Subtile treacheryes.

And you are to make such treatyess of Frenshipp and Alliances with the Indians, as may tend to your better Security and the interest of the Company which will alsoe much Weaken the French in those parts.

Wee shalbe glad to heare a Correspondence is Settled betwixt you and New Severne and that place and the bottome of the Bay that you may know from tyme to tyme, the Condicion of each other and give Supplyes in Case of neede, which now wilbe more requisite then ever.

Wee Send you barely the Goods written for, because wee find you are Suplyed with most things for divers yeares, and shall yearly expect an accompt, in writeing of your desires.

Wee Condescend that leave bee given to our Servants to Trade into the Warehouse those Martin Skins they catch in the Winter being Allwayes willing to grant them any reasonable encouragemt. upon Condicion they abuse not our kindnesse.

You are soe Imperfect in your advice about the things you write for, as for instance the Sayles for the *Colleton* Yatcht, that unlesse you give us truer measures, and expresse exactly the quantities & qualities Wee shall soon run into as badd an Error, as formerly for Albany River, and shall have tenn yeares Trade in some Comodities, and not one of others.

Wee would have you take Care to build Storehouses for our goods that you may not bee forced yearely to buy Sayles of the Shippmasters, which come to nothing, That you turne all your Powder once in two months and returne all that is damaged or weakened either by long lyeing or wett, That you keepe a true & exact accompt, of Sale of the Beavor, and encourage the Indians, to weare Cloth Bayes, Flannell Duffles or any Wollen thing rather then Beavor, for reasons too well knowne, and the alteracion of Trade here, and by your Method & Standard of Trade you must lett them See that Wee very much preferr Parchmt. Beavor before Coate Beavor, that soe they may bee forced to produce you, lesse Coate Beavor and more Parchmt.¹

That you expresse particulerly in your accompt, of Sales how many Jack knives roach Bellyes, and other Sorts you Sell and in like manner an acco. of the Sales, of all other goods, which will Direct us what to Send if you should omitt it And soe for Netting what quantity you would have of it and Thread for netts, and the widenesse of the holes in Netts, else wee may Send wrong every yeare and soe for Glasse windowes, the true demencions how long and how broade else wee can never Send what is fitt and proper.

Wee understand that you have noe Medecines, yett you write for none, but wee have Sent a very good Chest out of our Care for you.

Likewise wee putt you in minde to returne all empty Chests with all Caske & to put the Furrs in them, But besure to send home all Iron bound Caske, which are very Chargeable yearely to Send new.

Wee understand by Capt. Ford that White Cloth is more desired by the Indians then Colloured white being not soe Subject to fright their Game as Redd or Blew when they hunt,

¹ See pp. 66, 98, 115 and Rich, "Russia and the Colonial Fur Trade".

*Imperfect in
your Indent*

*to build
Store houses*

turn Gunpowder

*to keep Accot.
Sale of Beaver*

*to Encourage the
Indians to Wear
Wollen*

*to send quantity
of each Sort
Goods Bartered*

*to Send Sizes of
things you want*

medicines Sent

*to return
Chests & Casks*

*White Cloth
preferable to
colloured*

and it being lesse Charge to us, then the Dyed Wee therefore have Sent Three Cloths for a Tryall.

Hops Sent

*to Spare Capt.
Young some
Men*

Wee have Sent you a few hopps which will better preserve your Beere and save you the Trouble of Brewing soe often. If this arrive before Capt. Yongs departure, Wee desire you to Spare him some few men for his better defence & Strength in his Voyage homewards The Seas being Dangerous thro. French Privateers, when hee approaches our Coast, or that of Ireland.

Settlement C R

*Cheif you to
appoint & give
Instructions to*

Wee againe most heartily recommend to you the speedy Settlemt. of that Northerne River as a Place from whence wee have large expectacions leaveing to you the Nomination of such a pson for Cheife of that Factory whome you shall Judge most Capeable to carry on and pfect an undertakeing of this nature, and you are to Give him a Comission with instruccions pursuant to these and what Wee have given Capt. Ford Desireing God Allmighty to grant his Blessing to these and all other Just designes Wee rest,

Hudsons Bay house
6^o June 1689

Your very Loveing Freinds
E. DERING Dept. Governor
JOHN HUBAND
WILL. YONGE
RICHD. CRADOCK
SAMUEL CLARKE
NICHOL. HAYWARD
SAMUEL CUDWORTH

A postscript to this Letter was writt at Gravesend and is entred in fol. 30 [p. 77]

Letter to Mr. Walsh

*his reced. from
Hayes River*

*not to leave
Factory*

*Warr with
France*

keep Guard

Wee Received your's of the 6th of September last p. Capt. Edgcombe which pceive was wrote at Hayes River and altho the Governor might pmitt you in a time of peace, to leave your Factory and Come to him, It is not to bee done hereafter, Warrs, being now Proclaymed betweene England & France; Wherefore wee require you imediately upon receipt hereof to Strengthen your Fortificacions and to keepe Constant Guard.

The late King James haveing left his Kingdome, as at large you will finde by the Printed papers Sent you, And King Wm. and Queene Mary being Seated on the Throne, Wee have Sent Governor Geyer their Royall Comission a Copy whereof goeth herewith pursuant to which you are to defend and offend and alsoe to reprice and Seize all French their Ships goods or effects and make such alliances against them with the Indians in such manner as may most Secure you and annoy them as well as promote our Trade.

*Revolution in
the Governmt.*

Royal Comm.

*to make Reprisals
on the French*

*Alliances wth.
Indians*

Wee hope Capt. Marsh Capt. Bond and those whoe accompanied them made a good Settlemt. last yeare, at the Bottome of the Bay Wee likewise Send them New Commissions from their Maties. to Recover and Repossesse by force of Armes, the severall Forts formerly belonging to us and to take and Seize the Goods Shipps and Effects of the French wheresoever they shall meete with them not doubting but they wilbe able to regaine all, with the help which (God willing) will Come to them by Capt. Edgcombe and doe expect you should by all Opertunityes Continue a Correspondency with our People at the Bottome of the Bay giveing them a Relation how matters Stand at Port Nelson and at your Factory and Communicateing to Port Nelson their Condicion, that from thence soe soon as the Season will pmitt releife may bee mutually Sent by Shipping from one place to th'other as neede shall require.

*expect Settlemt.
made at Bottom
of the Bay by
Marsh & Bond*

*hope they'l
retake all the
French have*

*Correspond
Factory*

It pleases us to heare of a likelyhood of encrease of the Beavor Trade at New Severne, there are questionlesse divers other Comodities to bee gott were they enquired after vizt. Sea Morse Teeth Castorum Seile Skins Mineralls or Dyeing wares besides others Wee Cannot name, soe that you are to encourage the Indians, to bring such things downe upon your Promise to Trade for them.

*glad to hear
likely Increase
Beaver at New
Severne*

*Doubtless other
Commoditys to
Encourage the
Indians to bring*

Before Wee Conclude Cannot forbear putting you in minde to make such Provision for your Safety and defence as may baffle any of the Subtile and Treacherous designs of the French whome hereafter you are to Esteeme as the worst of Enemyes, and are to have noe manner of Correspondence with them whatsoever, And as wee have put you into the Second

*provide for
your Safety*

*to be Jealous
of the French*

*expect your
Extray. care &
Zeal*

place of Trust soe wee hope you will in discharge of your Duty
expresse an extraordinary Care & Zeale for the Honour of the
Nation and the Good and benefitt of the Company Wee rest

Your very Loveing Freinds

E. DERING Dept. Governr.

JOHN HUBAND

WILL. YONGE

RICHD. CRADOCK

SAMUEL CLARKE

NICHOLAS HAYWARD

SAMUEL CUDWORTH

Hudsons Bay House
Londo. 6^o June 1689.

a good Report of

*commd. of Ship
given*

expectation from

to use Prayers

*to Sail to Port
Nelson*

*keep Compy. with
Consort*

to deliver Cargo

*to proceed to CR
& take possession*

Sayleing orders or Instructions To Capt. John Ford
The Relation wee have of your Faithfull Services for
Severall yeares at Port Nelson in Hudson's Bay and of your
experience in the Navigation of those parts gives us
encouragemt. to make Choyse of you, as Comander of our
Friggatt Called the *Northwest Fox* not doubting but your
Dilligence and Conduct will bee such in makeing further
Discoveryes for the benefitt of the Company that it will
redound to your owne reputation and Fame and encrease that
esteeme wee at Present have of you.

In the First place Wee Recomend unto you the Care of the
Service of God and doe require you to have prayers daily read
on board your Vessell, That soe the Blessing of God may
attend your endeavour's in our Service.

You are with the first faire wind to Sayle with the said
Vessell for Hayes River neare Port Nelson, endeavouring to
keepe Compa. with the *Royall Hudson's Bay* Friggatt Capt.
Leonard Edgcombe Comander and being there arrived with
all possible expedition to deliver to Capt. George Geyer, or
any other our Governor there, all such goods Provisions &
Stores as goe Consigned according to Bill of Ladeing and
takeing with you one or more fitt pson's from the Factory
instead of others of your Company you may leave there in their
places, with a proper Cargoe of Goods, you are Imediately
without Losse of tyme, to Sayle and *apply to the Great River*

which Lyes to the Northward of Churchill River (Supposeing the same has been before Discovered) *and take possession thereof* and the Right of the Crowne of England for the use of the Hudson's Bay Compa. and in the most Convenient place of that River build a house, and Fort for your Safety and accomodacion where you are to Winter with your Shippes *build a House & Winter* Company Perticulerly recommending that you *use your uttmost dilligence to Penetrate into the Country to make what Discovery's you Can,* and to gett an acquaintance and Commerce with the Indians thereabouts, which wee have great reason to hope may in time turne to accompt and answeere the Charge wee are & may bee at in makeing this Settlemt., Which when done would have you endeavour to make Contracts and Leagues of Freindshipp with the Natives with such Ceremonyes as you shall find to bee most Sacred and Obligatorye amongst them, and the next Season leaveing a Sufficent number of men for the Preservacon of the said place, you are to returne, with your Friggatt to Port Nelson and there give an accompt of what hath passed in this affaire in order to the Transmitting it to England, Wee purposeing to Supply the said Factory with such further Stores, Provisions and Goods as shalbe necessary for the Carryeing on of the Trade, and the Mainteynance and Support of it, And you are from tyme to tyme to follow & obey such orders & Direccions as shalbe given you by Governor Geyer, or any other our Governor at Hayes River, neare Port Nelson. *to penetrate into the Country* *Trade with. Indians* *make Leagues of Friendship with. Indians* *to return to Port Nelson* *shall Supply & Support this Factory* *Obey Govr. Orders*

You are likewise Strictly to inquire and observe what other Comodities besides Beavor and Furrs those Countryes doe produce, or Can bee brought downe by the Indians, vizt. *Sea Morse teeth Seile Skins Mineralls or Dyeing Wares and Send us home as large quantityes as you Can gett,* Wee alsoe Recommend to you to use all possible dilligence in getting your Dispatch from Hayes River that you may have the more tyme to *make this Northerne Settlemt. ere winter approaches, from whence wee have extraordinary expectations assureing you Wee shall make proporconable returnes Suitable to your endeavours for our Service, and that noe Meritorious act shalbe passed by unrewarded.* *Inform your Self & send us what Commoditys you can &c.* *Dispatch at Hayes Island* *to make Nn. Settlemt.* *reward Merit*

Note that tho. the Louzy Indians whoe live nearest the Sea have but little Beavor, they may have other Comodityes, which wee would have you Trade for at their Lowest prizes you Can, *But the Doggside Indians are a Considerable nation and have great quantityes, of Beavor, these you must endeavour to draw downe, to Deale with you, and to that purpose would have you fix your Factory as high as your Vessell Can goe, and as soon as the Season will pmitt, the next Spring Send a Canoe, and some of our People with the Slaves up the River to find out the Indians, if you have not mett with them before But take notice as to the Trade, Wee expect you give not above halfe soe much as Wee allow at Port Nelson, makeing Distinction betweene Parchmt. & the Worne Coate, soe that you are not to give neare soe much for the Coate as the Parchmt., which latter is more vendable haveing a great quantity of Coate by us, which Wee Cannott Sell Wherefore you may lett the Indians See that you doe very Considerably preferr the Parchmt. before the Coate, All which is however Submitted to your Discretion Besides Wee would have you from tyme to tyme, to take all favourable Opertunityes Still to make further and further discovery's for the benefitt and enlargemt. of the Compa. Trade & Interest.*

And haveing thought fitt to Choose you as a pson whome wee Judge qualifedy for such an undertakeing wee hope you will never give us reason to think our Selves mistaken but that you will behave your Selfe, with that Dilligence Courage & fidelity as becomes such an employ and Trust for the Honour of the Nation the advantage of the Compa. and your owne Creditt, Soe Recomending you to the Protteccion of Allmighty God Wee heartily wish you all Prosperity and Rest

Your Loveing Freinds

Hudson's Bay House
Londo. 6^o June 1689

E. DERING Dept. Governor
JOHN HUBAND
WILL. YONGE
RICHD. CRADOCK
SAMUEL CLARKE
NICHOL. HAYWARD
SAMUL. CUDWORTH

*Draw down
Indians to
Trade*

*Send up River
to Seek Indians*

*Standard
altered*

*Parchmt. more
Vendable than
Coat*

*to make furthur
Discovery's at
all oppertunitys*

good opinion

*Courage &
Fidelity*

postscript

You are to use your uttmmost endeavour, to prevent & detect all private Trade and in regard wee heare of Interlopeing designes, carried on by the Assistance of Some of those whoe formerly Served us, if any such attempts bee made by them or any others, you are to Shew your Courage & Conduct in endeavouring to defeate them, and to Seize the Offenders & their Vessells and to Send their psons onely into England, where they shall bee Severely prosecuted as Contemnners of the King's authority and Violaters of the Rights and Priviledges granted by his Matie. and if you meete with any French or other Forreigners Tradeing or Saileing within the Lymitts of our Charter, You are to Seize their Vessells as Lawfull prize by vertue of the Act of Parliamt. for encouragemt. of Navigation.

detect private Trade

Seize Interlopers &c.

E. DERING Dept. Governor
JOHN HUBAND
RICHARD CRADOCK
SAMUEL CLARKE
NICHOL. HAYWARD
SAMUL. CUDWORTH

Sayleing orders or Instructions to
Capt. Leonard Edgcombe

The Experience wee have had of your faithfull Service to the Hudsons Bay Company and your Skillfullnesse in the Navigation of those parts hath induced us to Choose you, as Comander of the *Royall Hudsons Bay* Friggatt not doubting but you will behave yourselfe with that Courage & fidelity as will Conduce to the interest & advantage of the Company and Improve the good opinion Wee have of your Abillity and Integrity.

Commdr. Ship

good opinion of

In the first place Wee enjoyne you Constant observeance of Publique prayers both morneing & Evening on board your Friggatt dureing the whole tyme of your Voyage, that from

*prayers
Enjoyed*

thence wee may not onely expect Gods Blessing on your endeavours, but undoubtedly hope that soe Christianlike behaviour will begett a Decent Decorum and peaceable Deameanour amongst all our Shipp Company.

*to Sail to
Hayes River
wth. Consort*

*to deliver Cargo
&c. to Govr.*

*to receive on
Board Goods*

*Bottom of the
Bay*

*to deliver to
Govr. Cargo*

Winter there

*Subordinate to
the Govr.*

*Jealous of
French*

*Kings &c.
Comm.*

You are with the first faire wind to Sayle for the said Bay keepeing Company with Our Friggatt the *Northwest Fox* Capt. John Ford Comander and to make Hayes River neare Port Nelson your first Port, where you are to touch & Stay as short a tyme as its possible to Deliver to Governor Geyer or any other our Governor for the tyme being such Provisions Stores & Goods as by Bill of Ladeing shall bee directed to him, as likewise receive on Board your Shipp such Brasille Tobacco Powder Guns and other things hee shall Deliver you for the use of the Bottome of the Bay, and being Dispatched from Hayes River you are with all expedition to Sayle towards Albany River and Moose River endeavouring to find out the place where Capt. John Marsh our Governor there is Settled with our men and haveing found the same you are to Sayle as neare to it as with Safety you Can, and there deliver to our said Governor Marsh or any other our Governor there for the tyme being all such goods merchandizes Provisions and Stores, as by Bill of Ladeing are Consigned to him, with such Goods & Stores, as you shall take in at Port Nelson, and you are to seeke out the most Safe & Convenient place, for the Security of your Friggatt and soe winter there, Dureing all which tyme wee desire and require you to follow the orders, and Direccions of our said Governor and to bee aydeing and Assisting to him both with your pson and Shipp Crew, in the finishing and defence of our Forts and Fortificacions for the regaineing and recovery of the places Shipp Goods & effects the French have taken from us, and in what else may Conduce to the benefitt & advantage of the Company, and here it may not bee Amisse to putt you in minde of the Subtilty and Treachery of that Nation and to Caution you to keepe Constant Watch & Ward to prevent any of their designs or attempts either by force or fraud.

And their Maties. King Wm. & Queene Mary have honoured you with their Royall Commission and in case

Albany Fort Moose River Ruperts River or any other Fort or place, belonging to the English bee Still in the hands of the French you are Imediately upon your arriveall to Summon them to a Surrender and upon delay or refuseall, with all the Strength and force you Can to take Seize & Recover the same, as the undoubted right of the Crowne of England and as the estate & property of the Hudson's Bay Company and likewise to use your uttmost endeavours to expell and Drive away all French.

*Summons French
to surrender*

*in case of
refusall to
take it by
Force*

If you meet either Capt. Bond or Capt. Yonge you are to give them full Informacion how affaires Stand here in England and of the Declared Warr with France affording each of them such Supplyes of men as neede shall require and you can well Spare.

*to inform Bond
& Young State
of our affairs*

*to furnish them
wth Men &c.*

And in Case you Cannott meete with Capt. Marsh our Governor or Capt. Hamilton our Deputy Governor or with Capt. Simson Comander of the *Yonge* Friggatt nor with any of our Factors or Servants there, (which God forbid) Then and in such Case Wee require you Neverthelesse to build a Fort and make a Settlemt. in some Convenient Place, of the Bottome of the Bay leaveing there a Convenient number of your men for the defence of it and Goods Necessary for a Trade, with the Indians with Suitable Provisions and Stores.

*In absence of
our Ser^{vt}.*

Build Fort &c.

And at the Breakeing up of the Ice and proper Season of the yeare you are to depart thence, with your said Friggatt and such Goods as shalbe Traded and againe apply to Hayes River neare Port Nelson there with all possible expedition receive on Board such Beavour and other Goods as our Governor there shall Lade or tender to be laden and soe directly returne and Come back to the Port of this City of London here to make due delivery and end the intended Voyage, To which Wee humbly desire Allmighty God to Give a Blessing.

*to return to
Hayes River*

*take on Board
Cargo*

for London

Wee have enjoyed our Governors to Call you to their Assistance in all their Consultacions dureing the tyme of your Stay with them not doubting but you will unanimously endeavour to act all things for the Honour of the Nation and

*Gouv. to
Consult you*

*good opinion
of your Fidelity*

the benefit of the Company Soe wishing you a Prosperous
Voyage Wee rest

Hudsons Bay House
London the 6th June
1689

Your very Loveing Freinds
ED. DERING Dept. Governor
JOHN HUBAND
WILL. YONGE
RICHD. CRADOCK
SAMUEL CLARKE
NICHOL. HAYWARD
SAMUL. CUDWORTH

postscript

*detect private
Trade*

You are to use your uttmost endeavour to prevent & detect
all Private Trade and in regard Wee heare of Interlopeing
designes Carryed on by the Assistance of some of those whoe
have formerly Served us, If any such attempts bee made by
them, or any others, you are to Shew your Courage & Conduct
in endeavouring to defeate them and to Seize the Offenders
and their Vessells and to Send their psons onely into England,
where they shalbee Seeverely prosecuted as Contemnners of the
Kings authority and Violaters of the rights & Priviledges
granted by his Matie.

*Seize
Interlopers*

*& French
Vessels &c.*

And in case you meete with any French or other Forreigners
Tradeing or Sayleing within the Lymitts of our Charter, You
are to Seize their Vessells as Lawfull prize by vertue of the
Act of Parliamt. for encouragemt. of Navigation.

E. DERING Dept. Governor
JOHN HUBAND
RICHD. CRADOCK
SAMUEL CLARKE
NICHOL. HAYWARD
SAMUL. CUDWORTH

William R.

*His Maties.
Comission to
Capta. John
Marsh*

William & Mary by the Grace of God King and Queene of
England Scotland France & Ireland Defenders of the Faith
&c. To our Trusty & Welbeloved Capt. John Marsh Greeting

Wee reposeing especiall Trust & Confidence in your Loyalty and Courage doe by these presents Constitute & appoint you to bee our Governor & Comander in Cheife of all & every our Forts Factoryes Lands & Territoryes with their dependencyes Conteyned & Lyeing in the Bottome of the Bay within the Streights Commonly [called] Hudsons Streights in America, and in pticuler of the respective Factoryes & Forts Called or lately Called Albany Fort Moose River and Ruperts River and all other Factoryes Forts or places, which are or may have beene since new erected Settled Discovered or recovered and which formerly have been and of right doe belong to us and are or were granted by the Charter of our late Royall Unkle King Charles the 2d to the Governor & Company of Adventurers of England Tradeing into Hudson's Bay and their Successors And Wee Doe hereby Command authorize & Impower you by force of Armes to Recover & repossesse all such places forts or Factoryes with the Territoryes thereto belonging as were of late by the French Injuriuously taken from the said Hudsons Bay Company And by All the force you Can both by Sea & Land Offensively & defensively to take & Seize any French Ships or Vessells Men Goods & Effects whatsoever & wheresoever to repaire & reprice the Damages, soe Sustained by the said Company For the better effecting of which & more Security of our places Wee doe require & authorize you & the Governor there Resident for the tyme being from tyme to tyme, to enter into what Leagues and Alliances you Can or shall think necessary with the Native Indians, particulerly against the French for the Honour of the Crowne of England and for the advantage of the Hudsons Bay Company and the encreaseing of the Beavor Trade And to protect and assist all such Indians as are freinds to and trade with the said Company against any Nations of the Indians that are in Alliance or Confederacy with the French And Wee doe require and Comand you and all others Serveing under you to the uttmost to maintaine & Defend all such places Factoryes & Territoryes, as shalbe under your Comand against any the Subjects of the French King or any pretending to act by any Comission or authority under him or any other

whosoever, Contrary to our Royall Right and Propriety Requireing all psons of what degree whatsoever within the Lymitts & Precincts of your Comission to bee Obedient to your Comands in all things for the Recovery or better defence of the said places & promoteing and Secureing the interest & benefitt of the said Hudsons Bay Company & if any Shipp or Shippes Vessell or Vessells belonging to any of our Subjects or navigated by such shall from tyme to tyme bee within the Lymitts of the said Hudson's Bay Wee Doe Will & require the Comanders & Seamen and all others belonging to the same, and every of them and all other our Loveing Subjects to bee aideing & assisting to you and to follow & obey such orders as they shall from tyme to tyme receive from you, for the Recovery & better defence & Preservation of our rights Territoryes, & places against all psons whatsoever according to the Priviledges granted to the said Company when & as often as neede shall require upon paine of our high displeasure and as they will Answer the Contrary at their Perill And you are to follow & observe such further orders & instruccions as you shall from tyme to tyme, receive from us the Governor the Deputy Governor and Committee of the said Hudson's Bay Company resideing in England Pursuant to this our Commission and the Trust reposed in you, Given at our Court at Hampton Court the 8th of June 1689 in the First yeare of our reigne.

By his Maties Comand
SHREWSBURY¹

Wm. R.

*His Maties.
Comission to
Capta. Andrew
Hamilton*

William & Mary by the Grace of God King & Queene of England Scotland France & Ireland Defenders of the Faith &c. To our Trusty & Welbeloved Capt. Andrew Hamilton,

¹ Charles Talbot, twelfth Earl and only Duke of Shrewsbury (1660–1718). On the formation of the first administration of William and Mary's reign in 1689 Shrewsbury was made a Privy Councillor and Secretary of State for the Northern Province. See *D.N.B.*

Greeting Wee reposeing especiall Trust & Confidence in your Loyalty Courage & good Conduct Doe by these presents Constitute & appointe you to bee Deputy Governor of all & every our Ports Rivers Factoryes Lands & Territoryes with their Dependencyes Containeing & Lyeing in the Bottome of the Bay within the Streights Comonly Called Hudsons Streights, in America & pticulerly of the respective Territoryes and Forts called or lately Called Albany Fort Moose River and Ruperts River whereof our Trusty and Welbeloved Capt. John Marsh is Governor You are therefore Carefully & Dilligently (in Case of the death of the said Capt. John Marsh) to act as Governor and in his absence to Discharge the Duty of Deputy Governor of the said Fort & Forts by doeing & pformeing all & all manner of things thereunto belonging according to our Comission granted unto the said Capt. John Marsh And Wee doe hereby require & Comand all our Loveing Subjects to Obey you as Deputy Governor and to bee aideing and assisting to you as there may bee Occasion And you are to observe and follow such orders & instruccions as you shall from time to time receive from us the Governor Deputy Governor & Committee of the Hudsons Bay Company in England pursuant to the Trust reposed in you, Given at our Court at Hampton Court the 8^o. June 1689 in the first yeare of our reigne

By his Maties. Command
SHREWSBURY

William R.

William & Mary by the Grace of God King & Queene of England Scotland France & Ireland Defenders of the Faith &c. To our Trusty & Welbeloved Capt. George Geyer Greeting Wee reposeing especiall Trust & Confidence, as well in your Loyalty & Courage as in your experience & good Conduct doe by these presents Constitute & appoint you to bee our Governor and Comander in Cheife of all & every our Ports Rivers Creeks Factoryes Lands & Territoryes with their

*His Maties.
Comission to
Capta. Geo.
Geyer*

Dependencyes Contained & Lyeing in the Northerly part of the Bay within the Streights Comonly Called Hudson's Streights in America and in particuler of the respective Factoryes Forts and places called or lately Called Port Nelson New Severne and Churchill River and of all other places which of late have beene in or of right doe belong to us, or may bee new erected Settled or Discovered and are or were granted by the Charter of our late Royall Unkle King Charles the 2d to the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England tradeing into Hudsons Bay and their Successors, And Wee doe hereby Comand authorize and Impower you by force of Armes by Sea and Land offensively & Defensively to take and Seize any French Shipps or Vessells men goods and effects whatsoever & wheresoever And Wee doe require & Command you and all others Serveing under you, to the uttmost to mainteyne and defend all such places & Factoryes as are or shalbe under your Comand (and them to recover if neede bee) against any of the Subjects of the French King or any pretending to act by any Comission or authority under him or any other whatsoever: Contrary to our Royall Right and propriety requireing all psons of what degree soever within the Lymitts and Precincts of your Comission to bee Obedient, to your Comands in all things for the Recovery or better defence, of the said places and promoteing & Secureing the Interest and benefitt of the said Hudson's Bay Company for the better effecting of which & more Security of our places, Wee doe require and authorize you the Governor there resideing for the tyme being from tyme to tyme to enter into what Leagues & Alliances you Can or Shall think necessary with the Native Indians pticularly against the French for the Honour of the Crowne of England for the advantage of the Hudsons Bay Company and the Promoteing of the Beavor Trade and to protect and assist all such Indians as are friends to and Trade with the said Company against any Nations of the Indians that are in Alliance or Confederacy with the French, and if any Shipp or Shipps Vessell or Vessells belonging to any of our Subjects or Navigated as such shall from tyme to time bee within the Lymitts of the said Hudsons Bay Wee doe Will & require the

Comanders and Seamen and all others belonging to the same and every of them and all other our Loveing Subjects to bee aideing and assisting unto you and follow & obey such orders, as they shall from tyme to tyme receive from you, for the Recovery and better defence and preservacion of our Rights and places agt. all pson's whatsoever according to the Priviledges granted to the said Company when and as often as neede shall require upon paine of our high displeasure and as they will answere the Contrary at their Perrill and you are to follow and observe such further orders and Instruccions as you shall from tyme to tyme, receive from us, or the Governor Deputy Governor and Committee of the said Hudsons Bay Company resideing in England Pursuant to this our Comission and the Trust reposed in you, Given at our Court at Hampton Court the 8^o day of June 1689 in the first yeare of our reigne.

By his Maties. Command
SHREWSBURY

Whereas It hath pleased Allmighty God by a wonderfull Providence to place King William and Queene Mary upon the Throne of the Imperiall Crowne of England, whoe have been accordingly by a full Consent in Free Parliamt. soe received in England Proclaimeed and Solemnly with universall Joy Crowned whereby all the Dominions appertaineing to the Crowne of England both in Europe and America doe Lawfully accrew to their Maties. I therefore George Geyer appointed Governor by their Maties. Royall Commission aswell as by the Right Honoble. the Hudson's Bay Company resideing in England doe by Command of the said Company Proclaime and Cause to bee Proclaimeed in this Place being part of their Maties. Dominions William and Mary by the grace of God King and Queene of England Scotland France and Ireland and of all the Dominions and Territoryes thereunto belonging and Consequently rightfull Sovereignes of this Place and of all these Seas Rivers Lakes Creeks Landes and Territoryes whatsoever Lyeing within the Straites commonly called

*A forme whereby
to proclaime
King Wm. and
Queene Mary in
Hudsons Bay*

Hudson's Straites in America in whatsoever Latitude
Declareing our Selves and all their Maties. Subjects bound to
pay all faith & true Allegiance to their Maties. King Wm.
and Queene Mary whome God Grant long to reigne

God Save King William and Queene Mary 1689

*Peticon of
the Seamen
at Gravesend
June 15 1689
Upon their
intended Voyage¹*

Please your Honoble. Company This is the Will and
Desire of your Servants underwritten, to know your minde in
Sending us for a Sacrifice for our Enemies and without any
encouragemt., if wee have any ingagemt. it may happen of
looseing of our Leggs and Arms and lives in the Defence of
your Shipp and Goodes, and for want of help of Able men,
which was promised, it may indanger imprisonmt. and wee
Slaves to the Enemye Therefore our request is, to have what
our Gracious King hath granted by Proclamacion and more
men before wee goe from hence.

Gentlemen

*The Committees
ansuerr to the
Same peticon*

Wee have the Paper which you Call a Petition, by which it
Seems you expect some assistance of Care to bee taken for you
in case you loose your Lives or Limbs in defence of our Shipp

¹ A.1/11, fo. 22d., at a Committee at Gravesend, June 15, 1689, "This Day
a Letter or Petition was brought from the Seamen of Captaine Edgcombes Shipp
whoe were ready to enter into a Mutiny demanding assurance to bee Considered
in case of Losse of lives or Limbs &ca. and refused to receive their Imprest money
or proceed in the Voyage untill they had some Satisfaccon herein, upon which
the Deputy Governor wrote a Letter to them giveing them the assurance in case
of losse of lives or Limbs as so expressed in the Companys Generall Letter, Which
being Carried to them and read before them by Captaine Edgcombe, gave them
satisfaccon and they were all pacified and Cheerfully went on to receive their
Imprest money, Which Letter of the Deputy Governors is to bee entred into the
Companyes Books. Two men alsoe on Board Captaine Fords Shipp being
Mutinous and refusing to goe the Voyage namely one Roger Wills Carpenter
and Matthew Cole the Cooke, Captaine Talmashe Comander of [Their Majesties'
Ship] the *Berkly Castle* being very opertunely att Dynner with the Committee
was pleased Generously to offer to take both the said men on board his Shipp and
to give the Company Two more in exchange for them, which favour Seasonably
appeased a Mutiny amongst the whole Shipp's Crew which they were designeing
to raise and this Committee returned Captaine Talmash their hearty thanks".

and interest, wee are glad to perceive by such a question that it is your Resolution to behave your Selves manfully and like Englishmen, if there bee an Occasion and therefore wee doe assure you, that wee have been before hand with you in this Case, and have already written to our Governor in the Country, and doe now declare the same to you againe, That if any man behaveing himselfe manfully in the Defence of our Shippes Goods and Factoryes shall happen to bee wounded or killed, wee will take effectuall Care by way of Pension of their wives and Children which shalbe at least Equivalent to the Kings Gracious Proclamation, Wee expect you goe on Cheerfully and rest

Your Loveing Freinds
 E. DERING Dep. Governor
 NICO. HAYWARD
 1689
 SAMUEL CLARKE

June 15 1689

A Postscript to the Generall Letter writt to Governor Geyer as in fol. 24. [p. 62]

Since there is now an Open Warr betweene the King of England, and the French King and the French about Canada have used to Boast amongst the Indians the Power of their King, and impudently Pretended that all the English were but Slaves to them and so by Lyes and impudence they used to Deceive and frighten the Poore Indians: You are now upon all Occations to Lett the Indians understand as well as you Can the true State of our Affaires at Home, as to the Settlemt. of our King and Queene upon the Throne, and that the late King haveing Deserted his Subjects, by the evill Counsell of the French (whoe disturbe all the world) our King and Queene have first Declared the Warr to bring downe the Tirranny and Arbitrary Power of the French King, and that all the Princes of Europe are likewise in Alliance to that purpose with our King And that all such Indians as will Joyne with you and the English Nation you will Assist and Protect as Freinds but all

*Postscript
 Warr wth.
 France*

*encourage the
 Indian to join
 with you agt.
 the French*

Indians that hold in any Alliance with or doe Assist or Trade with the French you will looke upon as Enemyes.

And in this Condition of Constant Perrill from the French you are the rather now to Traine and Marshall your men as wee wroth to you to doe the last yeare and make them expert in their Armes and inspire Courage and a Noble indignation into them against that Perfidious Nation, which wee doubt not but you will doe, and shew a great example of it your selfe when a just Occation offerrs, but not needlessly expose your selfe and our Factory for Prudence is as necessary and as Lawdable as Courage.

*Frugality &
good Husbandry
advised Reasons
for it*

And because of the uncertainty of all Events in this Danger of the Seas Wee must recommend to you to be the greater Husband of our Provisions and to encourage your men aswell as the Indians to gett Fresh Provisions by Hunting Fowleing and Fishing at all Seasons when they Can, which will Lengthen out the Provisions wee send you, for you may Consider that it must bee a Miracle of Gods Providence if some tyme or other a Shipp doe not miscarry dureing this Warr, which may put you to hard Shifts, and therefore in the greatest Plenty of all things it is Wisdome to provide further and to bee frugall.

*to advance the
Standard of
Trade*

Wee doe Conceive that at this Juncture of tyme when wee run through soe great hazards to come to you and that the Charge of Seamen is neare Double what it used to bee, It is highly reasonable to advance our Standard of Trade accordingly, the method of which is however left to your Discretion soe to mannage as not to give any disgust to the Natives; Wee have likewise directed Captaine Ford at first when hee Settles not to give in Truck above halfe the quantity of goodes to those Strange and Northerne Indians, you doe at Port Nelson and this Wee require you to give in Charge to him whoe shalbe Cheife of that place and if hee Settle in that River which you describe and the Indians wee heare call Deere River, wee have that hopes of that good Successe there, that in respect to our Deputy Governor Wee require you to Call it by his name Dereing River.

*directions
Standard at CR*

4 Lads Sent

Wee have this yeare taken Four Young Ladds out of Christs

Hospital¹ vizt. Nicholas Weeden, William Dolbey, George Holstead, and Matthew Viccary² and bound them Apprentices to the Company for eight yeares from the tyme of their Arriveall, they all write faire handes and Cast accompts, and being Young will easily attaine the Lingua and bee trained up in our Service and if you think such Ladds may bee usefull in a few yeares to Send up with the Indians wee have thoughts yearly or every other yeare to take the like or a greater number from the said Hospital, you may take Two of them and Send the others to the Bottome of the Bay; Concerneing the 10£ to your Selfe you writt about wee were very redy to gratifye you in it, But upon Peruseall of our Books find your owne receipt for it, unlesse you meane another distinct 10£ if soe pray write us more perticulerly about it, and wee shalbe ready to shew you all Possible favour, As to Amos Damaresque wee beleive him to bee a good Servant, and as wee did last yeare approve of his haveing 40£ p Anm. Sallery soe wee doe now Confirme the same to him dureing his being Comander of the *Albemarle*;³ As to Mr. Lawson, whoe Speaks something

*their
Qualifications*

*to send two to
the Bottom of
the Bay*

¹ Christ's Hospital (the Blue Coat school) was founded by King Edward IV (1442-83) and was especially devoted to fatherless and motherless children. The buildings of the monastery of Grey Friars, Newgate Street, London, were appropriated to it.

² These boys were aboard the *Royal Hudson's Bay* which was disabled by the French on the outward voyage and had to return to London (see p. 93). On arrival Nicholas Weeden was placed in the care of Nicholas Hayward, a member of the Committee, and William Dolbey was the charge of William Potter, the Company's secretary. George Holstead (Halstead, Halfstead) and Matthew Viccary were placed in the care of a Mr. Wright and a Mr. Jones, respectively. The four boys were sent to York Fort in 1690 (B.239/d/3, fo. 9d.), and in 1691 Nicholas Weeden returned to England. He was "pressed on Board a fier shipp at Debtford" in April 1692, but no reference has been found to his release being obtained from the Navy (A.1/14, fo. 15). Holstead (Halfstead) returned in 1692 (see p. 192) and nothing more is known about him. William Dolbey returned to England in 1693 or 94 and was apparently employed in the Company's office. He later became Warehousekeeper. Matthew Viccary died at York Fort on November 8, 1696 (B.239/d/6, fo. 57d., and Doughty and Martin, *Kelsey Papers*, p. 54).

³ The *Albemarle* of about forty tons burden was built for the Company by Francis Barham, junior, of Wapping in 1680. She had been stationed in Hudson Bay since 1682. References to her will be found in *H.B.S.*, VIII, IX and XI.

of Comeing home but yett leaves his Stay to us, which wee take kindly, wee thinke wee Cannot yett Spare him out of the Warehouse and therefore desire him to Stay under the Sallery Wee have Confirmed to him.

Wee have great hopes of Captaines Fords Dilligence and Vigour in our Service and doe appoint him one of your Councill dureing his Stay with you

Yours

E. DERING Dept. Gover.

SAMUELL CLARKE

NICO. HAYWARD¹

¹ At a Committee meeting held on July 29, 1689 (A.1/11, fo. 27d.) a list was made of various letters written to Captain Edgcombe and others between July 16 and 27, 1689. In some cases it was noted that no copies had been taken, and in other cases it was ordered that copies were to be "entred in the Companyes Letter Booke". These entries were not, however, made. All the letters in question were presumably to do with the capture by the French of the *Northwest Fox* and the disabling of the *Royal Hudson's Bay*. See pp. 93-104.

Copia

Soloman Nichols¹ of the Parrish of St. George the Marter in Southwarke Gunsmith aged Twenty years of Theiraboutes Deposeth & maketh oath Upon the Holy Evangelist of Almighty God that he this deponent went out in the service of the Right Honble. the Governr. & Company of Adventurers of England Tradeing into Hudsons Bay in the Shipp Called the *Churchill* Friggatt Capt. Wm. Bond Comandr. in Company with the *Yong* Friggtt. Capt. John Simson Comandr. in Prosecution of which Voyage being about the midle of Hudsons Straites some time of the month of Augst. they mett with an Interlopeing English Shipp Called the *Mary*² on board of which were Capt. John Outlaw & Capt. John Abraham whome they found in distrees in the Ice in which Condition they afforded them what Releife they could & Received on board their Shipp all the men being about Twenty in Number who owned their Shipp in soe Leakey a Condition that they Could not keepe her above water & accordingly she did Sinke the next morning, & he this deponent further saieth, that on or about the 8th or 10th day of September Following they arrived with the said Shipp *Churchill* togeather with the *Yong* Friggtt. at Albany River near the bottom of the said Bay, & Imediately Landed about 20 Armed Men Upon Baley's Iseland³ in the said River where they Sett up their tent & Raised a Barracado for their defence, the next morning, one Zachary Barden being one that was taken out of the aforesaid Shipp in distress was killed by a shott from Some of the French, about foureten dayes after the said Capt. Bond went with the Governr. Capt. John Marsh in the said Shipp *Churchill* to the Uper end of Balyes Iseland to another Iseland near it which they then named Churchill

*Soloman Nichols
his affidavitt
befor my Ld.
Mayr. the 10
Feb. 1689
[1690 N.S.]
about the takeing
the Churchill
the Yong &
Huband
Friggtts.*

¹ Nichols again joined the Company in 1692 and was one of the men who was present when Albany Fort was recaptured from the French in June 1693.

² See p. 36.

³ The position of "Bailes" Island is shown on the reproduction in *H.B.S.*, XI, xi, of the inset map of the Bottom of the Bay from the manuscript map by John Thornton, 1685.

Island, and in Building the fort had one Richd. Seneter¹ killed & Robt. Lashley² & Charles Stanton³ wounded by the French, after which they Continued there undisturbed any further untill the month of December, about the Latter end of which Capt. Bond & James Miller his mate together with Capt. Jno. Simson goeing out a hunting for pateridges, Capt. Simson Returning home to the factory & Capt. Bond together with his mate Refuseing (as he this deponent was Informed) to Returne home about the Evening were Surprised & taken by the French together with his mate & Carried away as prisoners to their factory & the Governr. Capt. Marsh being then sick about a fortnight after dyed.⁴

& he this deponent further Saieth that upon the Death of Capt. Marsh their Governr. Capt. Andrew Hamilton who was before Deputy Governr. tooke upon him the Comand of Governr., after which under a pretence of A Treaty and amicable Liveing together & severall Mutuall vissets passing to & fro for near a month at Last the French takeing their opertunity Contrary to their faith & promise Surprised about Twenty of the English Drawing a Sledg unarmed, & the said French being armed threatned to distroy them if they would not Imediately Surrender themselves prisoners, Upon which the French sent a flagg of Truce to the English fort to Know whether they would Surrender the said Fort, which Governr. Hamilton & Capt. Simson Refused, where upon the French undertooke to Lay a Kind of a Seige, which Continued for sevell. dayes till at Last after severall skermishes there being but eight sound men Left & being in distress for want of water were forced to surrender, after which surrender there being

¹ Richard Seneter was a member of the crew of the *Churchill*. A gratuity of £4 was paid to his mother, Elizabeth Seneter, in June 1690.

² Robert Lashley was a member of the crew of the *Churchill*. He presumably returned as far as Ireland on the *Huband* in 1689. See p. 84. An allowance of £2 for charity was paid to his wife, Elizabeth, in November 1691.

³ Charles Stanton, a member of the crew of the *Churchill*. No further references have been found to him.

⁴ "Land Wages" were credited to Marsh "from the 10th of September 1688 the time he arrived at the Bottom of the Bay to the 30th of January 1688[-89] at which time he Dyed" (A.15/3, fo. 158).

10 of the guns of the *Churchill* Friggtt. in the factory as also all the provisions of Both her & the *Yong* Friggtt. the said *Churchill* & *Yong* Friggtt. were forced to surrender Likewise, which hapend about the begining of March Last, and the French after they had gott possesion of the said *Churchill* Friggtt. fitted her out & seized upon the *Huband* Friggtt. Capt. Smithsend¹ Comandr. belonging to the English Company who was then settled at Prince Ruperts River at the Bottom of the said Bay. And this deponent further saieth that after the French had Taken booth the fort & shippes they dispersed the men to severall places and sent away Capt. Bond Capt. Simson Capt. Smithsend Steph. Sinclar Hugh Verner John Fullerton² Layton Steele & Wm. Arrington³ by Canoes to Canada, & about the begining of Augst. Last the French haveing made Ready the *Churchill* to saile she Departed under

¹ Richard Smithsend, a brother of Nicholas Smithsend (see p. 269). Richard Smithsend was mate of the chartered ship *Perpetuana Merchant* when she was captured by the French in Hudson Strait in July 1685. For his account of the incident and record of his imprisonment see *H.B.S.*, XI, 214-15. Smithsend was in England again in February 1687 and in that year he was appointed captain of the Company's ship *Huband* (A.1/9, fos. 7, 19). He spent the winter of 1687-88 with the *Huband* at York Fort and then joined the expedition to the Bottom of the Bay. It is not clear from Nichol's statement if the *Huband* was "settled" at Prince Rupert East River (i.e., Rupert River), or Prince Rupert West River (i.e., Moose River), when captured in March 1689. From Canada Smithsend was sent to France, but he made his escape from La Rochelle in October 1691 (A.9/4, fo. 16d., A.1/13, fo. 25d.). His "Narrative" left with the Company's secretary in the following December has not survived in the Company's archives. He did not re-enter the Company's service, and arranged for any payments due to him to be made to his brother, John Smithsend (A.1/14, fo. 10d.).

² He signed his name "Fullartine". References to him as John Fullerton will be found in *H.B.S.*, IX and XI. Fullartine was sent to France and was still a prisoner at La Rochelle in October 1691 (A.9/4, fo. 16-16d.). He was to become Governor of Albany, Moose and Rupert River in 1701, and he was later to serve on the London Committee for many years.

³ Layton Steele and William Harrington (Arrington), alias Red Cap, were sent from Canada to La Rochelle, where they were still held prisoners in October 1691 (A.9/4, fo. 16-16d.). Earlier references to them will be found in *H.B.S.*, VIII, IX and XI. They had both been captured by the French before, in 1686.

the Comand of Monsr. Disberville & Monsr. Saint Hellen designed either for Canada or France Affter her departure the French gave the afforesaid Vessell the *Huband* to Capt. Hamilton who with thirty odd English sett saile for New England but being at sea & the shipp Company being Resolved for England stood that Course under the Comand of Capt Hand.¹ but by Contrary winds and Scarsety of provisions were forced into Limbreck in the Kingdome of Ireland, where the said Capt. Hamilton sold the said shipp *Huband*² for one hundred pounds of which he kept about forty pounds & distributed the Remainder amongs the shipp Company after which this deponent traveled to Corke by pass & gott passage from thence to Bristoll in the shipp *Bonaventure* John Hicke Comandr. where he arrived about the 1st February Instant & from thence to London where he came the 7th Instant & this is the Truth soe helpe me God

SOLOMAN NICHOLS

Jurat 10 Die February Anno
1689[90] annoque Regni Regis & Regine
Guilielmi & Marie &ct Primo
Coram Me Tho. Pilkington Majr.

Letters of Mart³ for Capt. Leonard Edgcombe

William & Mary by the Grace of God of England Scotland France and Ireland King & Queen Deffenders of the Faith &c. Whereas Wee having taken into our Consideracon the Injuries Spoyles and acts of Hostility committed by the French King & his Subjects unto & upon the Ships Goods & persons of our Subjects extending to their Greivous Damages & amounting to great Summes, & that notwithstanding the many and

¹ See p. 37.

² On December 8, 1690, it was rumoured that the *Huband* was at Falmouth, but by January 15, 1691, it was known that the rumour was untrue (A.1/13, fos. 5, 6d.). No further reference to the *Huband* or Andrew Hamilton has been found.

³ I.e., Marque. See *O.E.D.*

Frequent Demands for redresse and reparacon yet none could ever bee obtained, Wee did therefore with the advice of Our Privy Councill think fitt & ordered that Generall reprizalls be granted against the ships Goods & Subjects of the French King, so that as well Our Fleets and Ships as also all other ships & Vessells that shall bee Comissionated by Letters of Marque or Generall Reprizall or otherwise shall and may lawfully seize & take all ships vessells & Goods belonging to the French King or his Subjects or Inhabitants within any of the Territories of the French King & Such other ships vessells & Goods as are or shall be lyable to confiscation & bring the same to Judgment in Our high Court of Admiralty of England according to the usuall Course & Laws of Nations; And whereas Leonard Edgecombe is thought fittly Qualifyed in that behalfe & hath Equipped furnished and Victualled a Ship called the *Royall Hudsons Bay* Friggatt, of the Burthen of about two hundred and twenty tunns whereof the said Leonard Edgcombe is Commander; And whereas Hee the said Leonard Edgcombe hath given Security with Surities by bond to us in our said Court of Admiralty according to the effect & forme Sett downe in certaine articles and Instruccions made by us the seven and twentieth day of June One thousand Six hundred eighty Nine in the First yeare of our Reigne, A Copy whereof is given to the said Capt. Leonard Edgcombe; Know yee therefore that Wee by these Presents Grant Commission to and Doe Licence & Authorize the said Capt. Leonard Edgcombe to Sett forth to Sea in Warlike Manner the said ship called the *Royall Hudsons Bay* Friggatt under his Owne Command, and therewith by Force of Armes to apprehend Seize and take the ships Vessells & Goods belonging to the French King and his Subjects or Inhabitants within the Dominions of the said French King, and Such other ships Vessells and Goods as are or shall be Lyable to confiscation, And to bring the Same to Such Port of this Our Realme of England as shall bee most convenient in order to have them Legally adjudged in our high Court of Admiralty, which being there Condemned it shall & may be lawfull for the said Leonard Edgcombe to Sell and dispose of Such ships

Vessells and Goods so adjudged & condemned in Such Sort and manner as by the Course of Admiralty & usages in Such cases hath been accustmed; Provided alwayes that the said Leonard Edgcombe keep an exact Journall of his Proceedings, and therein Particularly take Notice of all Prizes which shall be taken by him the Nature of Such prizes the times and places of their being taken and the vallues of them, as neare as hee can Judge, as also of the Station motion and Strength of the Enemy as well as he or his Mariners can Discover by the best Intelligence he can gett, & also of whatsoever else shall occur unto him or any of his officers or Marriners or be Discovered or Declared unto him or them or found out by Examinacon or conference with any Marriners or Passengers of or in any the ships or Vessells taken or by any other Person or Persons or by any other wayes or meanes whatsoever touching or concerning the designes of the Enemye or any of their Fleets Vessells or Parties and of their Stations Ports and places & of their Intents therein & of what merchants Ships or Vessells of the Enemies bound out or home or to any other place as hee or his officers or Marriners shall heare of & of whatelse materiall in these cases may arrive to his or their Knowledge of all which Hee shall from time to time as he shall or may have Oppertunity transmitt an Accompt to Our Commissrs. for Executing the office of Lord high Admirall of England or their Secretary, & to Keep a Correspondence with them by all Oportunities that shall present And further Provided that nothing be done by the said Leonard Edgcombe or any of his officers Marriners or Company contrary to the true meaning of Our foresaid Instructions but that the said Instruccion shall bee by them and each and every of them as farre as they or any of them are therein concerned in all Particulars well & duely performed and Observed; And Wee pray & Desire all Kings Princes Potentates Estates & Republicks being our friends & allyes & all others to whom it shall appertaine to Give the said Leonard Edgcombe all ayde assistance & Succor in their Ports with his said ship company & Prizes without doing or Suffering to be done to him any wrong trouble or hindrance, Wee offering to doe the like when

Wee shall by them thereunto desired; And Wee Will & require all Our Owne officers whatsoever to give him Succor & assistance as Occasion shall Require; In witnesse whereof Wee have caused the Great Seale of Our high Court of Admiralty of England to be hereunto affixed Given att London the nine & twentieth day of Aprill in the yeare of Our Lord One thousand six hundred & ninety & in the Second yeare of Our Reigne.

ORLANDO GEE¹ Registr.

Sealed with the Great
Seale of the Court of
Admiralty on a Labell.

The Like Comission (Mutatis mutandis) for Capt. James Young Comandr. of the ship *Dering*.²

The like Comission (Mutatis mutandis) for Capt. Michael Grimington³ Comandr. of the ship *Prosperous*.⁴

¹ Orlando Gee (1619–1705) was appointed Registrar of the Court of Admiralty in 1660, and was knighted in 1682. See *D.N.B.*

² Referred to herein as *Dering* [II]. This frigate originally named *William*, was bought from a Captain Bennet in February 1690 for £700 and renamed *Dering* (A.1/12, fos. 10d.–28d.). On her return from the 1690 voyage *Dering* [II] was reported unfit for further service and she was ordered to be sold. Sale by the candle took place at the Marine Coffee House in Birchin Lane in March 1691 and a Captain Towne became her owner for £560 (A.1/13, fos. 6d.–11).

³ Michael Grimington of Stepney joined the Company in 1680 and many references to him will be found in *H.B.S.*, VIII, IX, and XI. Whilst in command of the *Hayes* sloop at the Bottom of the Bay in 1687 he was captured by the French and sent to Canada. He returned to England by way of France early in 1689 (A.1/11, fo. 10), and in the summer of that year sailed in the *Royal Hudson's Bay* as mate to Captain Edgcombe (see p. 93, n. 1). His first command on a voyage from London to Hudson Bay was of the *Prosperous* in 1690.

⁴ In January 1690 the Committee ordered that the *Dering* [I] (see p. 5, n. 3) should be made “verry defencible & a square sterne shipp”, and in the following April permission was obtained from the King to turn it into a fireship (A.1/12, fos. 8, 14d.; A.14/5, fo. 30). She was then re-named *Prosperous*.



William R.

Certaine articles or Instruccions for Such merchants & others Who shall have Comissions or Letters of Marque or Comissions for Private Men of Warre against the French King & his Subjects or Inhabitants within any of his Dominions by vertue of their Maties. Commission granted under the Great Seale of England bearing date the six and twentieth day of June One thousand six hundred eightynine Given at Our Court att Hampton Court the twenty seventh day of June aforesaid.

1. That it shall be lawfull for the said Merchants & others authorized by our Letters of Marque or Commissions for Private men of Warre to sett upon by Force of armes and to Subdue & take the men of Warr ships & other Vessells whatsoever as also the goods monies & merchandises belonging to the French King & his Subjects or Inhabitants within any of his Territories or Dominions & Such other ships Vessells & Goods as are or shall be lyable to Confiscation, But so as that Noe hostility be comitted nor prize attacked Seized or taken within the harbours of Princes or States in amity with us, or in their Rivers or Roades within Shott of their Cannon.

2. That the said Merchants & others shall bring Such ships & Goods as they shall so Seize & take to Such port of this our Realme of England as shall bee most convenient for them in order to have the same legally adjudged in the high Court of Admiralty.

3. That after Such Ship Shall be taken & brought into any Port the taker shall be obliged, to bring or send as soone as Possibly may bee three or four of the Principall of the Company (whereof the Master & the Pilot to be alwayes two) of every ship so brought into Port before the Judge of the Admiralty of England or his Surrogate or Such as shall be Comissioned by him to be sworne & examined upon Such Interrogatories as Shall tend to the Discovery of the truth touching the Interest or Propriety of Such ship or ships & of the Goods & Merchandises found therein, and the taker shall be further obliged att the time he Produceth the Company aforesaid to

be Examined to bring & Deliver into the hands of the Judge of the Admiralty of England his Surrogate or others commissioned as aforesaid all Such Sea Briefs charterparties Bills of Lading Docquetts Letters & other Documents & Writings as shall be delivered up or found on board any Such ship the said Taker or one of his Chiefe officers who was Present & Saw the said Papers & writings delivered up or otherwise found on board att the time of the Capture, making Oath that the said Papers & Writings are brought & Delivered in as they were recd. or taken without any fraud Subduccion or Imbeazlement.

4. That all Ships Goods & Merchandises taken by Vertue of Letters of Marque or reprizall shall be safely kept & preserved & no part of them sold spoiled Wasted or Diminished, & that the Bulke thereof shall not be broken before Judgmt. be Given in the Court of Admiralty that the ships Goods & Merchandises are lawfull Prize, and that noe Person or Persons taken or Surprized in any ship or Vessell as aforesaid, tho knowne to bee of the Enemies Party, shall bee in Cold Blood killed maimed or by Torture or Cruelty inhumanely treated contrary to the Common Usage & Just Permission of Warre & whosoever shall offend in any of the Promisses shall bee severely Punished.

5. That if by reason of any Opposition in the adjudicacion of the said ships & Goods taken for Lawfull Prize there be necessity before adjudicacon to sell them because they are Perishable, & cannot be preserved without Damage in this Case the Judge of the Admiralty shall grant Commissions to take an Inventory & appraismt. thereof by five honest and Sufficient men to sell the same to the Party who offers most & to returne the Proceed thereof with the Inventory & appraismt. into the Court of Admiralty, there to remaine for the use of them to whom of Right they shall be adjudged to belong.

6. That the said Merchts. Commanders of Ships & others who shall obtaine the said Letters of Marque or Comissions as aforesaid for private men of Warr shall not doe or attempt any thing against the true meaning of any Article or Articles of Treaty or Treaties depending between us & any of our

allies touching the Freedome of Commerce in time of Warre & the authority of the passports or Certificates under a Certaine forme in some one of the Articles or Treaties So Depending between us & our allies as aforesaid when Produced & shewed by any of the Subjects of our said allies, and shall not Doe or attempt any thing against Our Loving Subjects or the Subjects of any Prince or State in amity with us, nor against their ships vessells or Goods but only against the French King his Subjects & Inhabitants within his Dominions their Ships Vessells & Goods & against such other ships vessells & Goods as are or shall be lyable to Confiscation.

7. That after Condemnation of any Prize it shall & may belawfull for the said merchts. & others to keep such & soe many ships vessells goods & marchandises as shall bee Condemned unto them for Lawfull Prize in their owne Possession to make sale & Dispose thereof in open Markett or otherwise to their Best advantage in as ample manner as att any time heretofore hath been accustomed in cases of Letters of Marque or of Just prizes in time of Warre and that it shall bee Lawfull for all manner of Persons as well Our Subjects as others to buy the said ships vessells goods & marchandises soe taken & Condemned for lawfull Prize without any damage or molestation to ensue thereupon to the said Buyers or any of them by reason of the Contracting or Dealing for the Same.

8. That our Subjects and all other persons whatsoever who shall either in their owne Persons serve, or beare any charge or Adventure, or in any Sort further or Sett forward the said Adventure according to these Articles shall Stand & bee freed by Vertue of the said Commission, and that no person be any wise reputed or challenged for an offender against our Laws but shall be freed under our Protection of & from all Trouble or Vexation that might in any wise grow thereby in the same manner as any other our Subjects ought to be by Law in their aiding & assisting us either in their owne Persons or otherwise in a lawfull way against our Declard. Enemyes.

9. That the said Merchants and others before the taking

out Comissions shall Give notice in writing Subscribed with their hands to our Comissrs. for Executing the office of Our high admirall of England for the time being or to the Lieutenant & Judge of Our said Court of Admiralty or his Surrogate of the Name of their Ship & of her Tunnage & Burthen and the names of the Capt. Owners or Setters out of the said ship with the Number of Men & the names of the officers in her & for what time they are Victualled, and also of their ordnance furniture & Ammunition to the end the same may be registred in the said Court of admiralty.

10. That those merchants Capts. & all others who shall have Such Letters of Marque or Commissions as aforesaid Shall hold and keep & are hereby enjoyned to hold & keep a Correspondence by all Conveniences & upon all Occasions from Time to time with Our Comissioners for Executing the office of Lord high Admirall of England soe as from time to time to render & give unto them or Some of them not only an accot. or Intelligence of their Captures or proceedings by vertue of such their Letters of Marque or Commissions aforesaid but also whatsoever shall occur unto them or be discovered and declared unto them or found out by them by Examinacon of or conference with any Marriners or Passengers of or in the ships or vessells taken or by any other wayes or meanes whatsoever touching or Concerning the Designes of the Enemyes or any of their Fleets ships Vessells or Parties, & of their Stations Seas Ports & Places & of their Intents therein & of what merchts. Ships or Vessells of the Enemyes bound out & home as they shall heare of & of what also matteriall in these cases may arrive to their knowledge to the end Such Course may be thereupon taken and Such order Given as may be requisite.

11. That before any Such Letters of Marque or Commissions issue under Seale security with Sureties shall be taken by bond Before the Lieutenant & Judge of Our high Court of Admiralty of England or his Surrogate in the Summe of three thousand Pounds Sterling (if the Ship carryes above One hundred & fifty men) and if a Lesser Number then in the Summe of Fifteen hundred pounds Sterg. The Condicon of

which obligacon shall bee to the effect & in the forme following Vizt.

The Condition of this Obligacon is Such That Whereas is Authorized by Letters of Marque or a Comission for a Private Man of Warre to arme Equip & Sett forth to Sea the Ship called the of the Burthen of about Tuns whereof Hee the said Goeth Capt. with men ordinance Ammunition & Victualls to Sett upon by force of Armes & to Subdue Seize and take upon the Seas or upon any River or in any Port or Creeke the men of war ships & other Vessells whatsoever together with the Goods money and Merchandises belonging to the French King or to any of his Subjects or Inhabitants within any of his Territories or Dominions whatsoever Excepting onely within the Harbours or Roads within shott of the Cannon of Princes & States in amity with their Maties. And Whereas Hee the said hath a Copy of certaine Instruccions approved of & Passed by his Maty. in Councill, (The Originall whereof is under his Maties. signe manuall & Royall signet) Delivered to him to governe himselfe therein, As by the tenour of his said Comission and of the said Instruccions thereunto relating more at Large appeareth. If therefore nothing be done by the said or any of his officers marriners or Company contrary to the true meaning of the said Instruccions but that the Comission aforesaid and the said Instruccions shall in all pticulars be well & duely Performed & observed as farr as they shall the said Ship Capt. & Company any way concerned, And if they or any of them shall give full Satisfaccion for any Damage or Injury which shall be Done by them or any of them to any of their Maties. Subjects or Allies or their Subjects, And also if the said and his officers & Marriners shall duely and truely pay or cause to be paid to their Maties. the Just tenths or tenth part of all Such Ships & Goods as Shall be by them or any of them taken & Seized and shall be by Due Course of Law adjudged to bee good & Lawfull Prize, And also shall truely pay or cause to be paid to their Maties. or the Customers or officers appointed to receive the Same for their Maties. the usuall Customes (due to their

Maties.) of & for all ships & Goods Soe as aforesaid taken & adjudged for Prize, That then the above written obligacion to be void & of noe effect, Or else to remaine in full force & Vertue.

By his maties. Command
SHREWSBURY

This following clause is by order added att the Latter end of the aforegoing Condiscon.

And moreover if the said shall not weare the Kings Colours commonly called the Union Jacke on board the said Ship the in Company of any of their Maties. men of Warre, or So neare any other men of Warre belonging to any Nation in amity with their Maties. Soe as to Occasion any salute from them, or in or neare any port or Roads whatsoever.

ORLANDO GEE Reqr.

The Like Instructions for Capt. James Younge

The Like Instructions for Capt. Michael Grimington

A Letter to Governor Geyer and the Rest of the Councill at Port Nelson.

The Enclosed was Intended Last year to which wee now Referr you whereby you will perceiue wee had taken an extrordinary care to furnish the Countrey with Large Suplies, though it pleased God who disposes all things, at that time to frustrate our designes, Capt. Edgcombe and Capt. Forde meeting unfortunately about thirty Leagues from Scilly, with 3 French privateers; By whome Ford was soone taken or Rather yeilded himselfe, But Capt. Edgcombe after 8 or 9 howers fight gott Cleare,¹ yet soe disabled that he was forced

*Last years letter
Inclosed*

*met with 3
French privateers*

¹ A.1/11, fo. 26, at a Committee, July 13, 1689, "This Committee Considering the Great and Signall Service of Captaine Leonard Edgcombe Comander of the *Royall Hudsons Bay* Friggatt in the defence of his Shipp against the French, doe now order that a peece of Plate to the Value of Twenty pounds with the Companyes Armes bee given to his wife for such his extraordinary Service". Ibid., fo. 35d., at a Committee, November 13, 1689, "The Peece of plate ordered for Captaine Edgecombe made into a Flaggon weight 79 ownces 12 dwt. was now given to him and hee gave This Committee his hearty thanks for

*Lost 1 Ship & the
other lost her
Voyage*

back for Plimouth to Refitt, in which soe much time was spent & soe many dissasters happend by the daly mutiny & deserting of our Seamen, as also noe Convoy being then to be gotten for Conduct any part of the way, Insomuch that notwithstanding our utmost paines & Endeavor to forward the voyage, wee could not prevaile with the marriners to proceed, att Last the season of the year being to farr spent wee were forced to permitt their Returne heither.

*Accot. recd. of
Loss of Factory
& Ships*

Though this disapointment gave us noe small Trouble, Considering our Factories would thereby extreamly bee streightned, yet it was not the onely misfortune attended our affaires, there Comeing newse from Canada to France & from thence hither, That small numbers of French at the Bottom of the Bay had taken an English Fort and three shippes whereof one of good force with divers prisoners, this seemed hardly Credible at first, but proved too trew afterwards, For Bond & his mate Foolishly wandring to hunt Pateridges, were them selves caught Like woodcocks, & then by subtle degrees our Factory shippes & goods surprized, to the perpetuall shame of the nation, wherein our men appeared extreamly more blame worthy as neither Regarding any Cautions expressly given them by way of Prevention, nor through former sad examples growne wise enough to evade the Continued ill practices of the French upon us, this unwelcome Report came againe confirmed to our great Regrett by Capt. James Youngs meeting the *Churchill* Friggtt. in the Streights in the enemies hands, since also by some of our servants Lately come from those parts, wee have been assshured of the truth of this disaster, & that the French had Likewise seized the *Young* Friggtt. & soone after the *Huband* Friggtt. at Ruperts River with all the goods and merchantdize on board them, to the dishonour of the Nation & verry great Losse & detriment of the Company, wee beseech God Almighty to bless our other Factories, and hope in case of any attack, that all in generall &

*Servants to
blame*

the same". Grimington, who was mate to Captain Edgcombe, was presented with a tankard (36 oz. 12 dwt.) bearing the Company's arms to the value of £10 for "the good Service done . . . aboard the . . . *Royal Hudson's Bay* . . . in her ingagemt. with the French" (ibid., fo. 34d., and A.1/12, fo. 3d.).

each Individuall in perticular will behave themselves with such courage Resolution & Bravery as becomes Trew English men, tenderly sencible of their owne and their Native Countries honour.

On the 19th of October Last came the most acceptable advice of Capt. Youngs arrivall in the *Dering*,¹ with a Considerable Cargo. whose safety wee verry much feared by Reason of the great numbers of French Capers² frequenting our Coasts, to the great annoyance of the trade of this Nation, And by the Large Returnes you have made, wee are verry sencible of your Carefull industry to promote our Trade, and being Resolved to give all due Incouragement to those who Serve us well, have over & above your settled salary voted you as Governr. one hundred pounds more Gratuity as a Reward, Besides the ten pounds you say was formerly promised by Sr. James Hayes³ whereof though no mention can be found in our Bookes yet that is allowed you also; to demonstrate that wee shall alwayes Readilly shew favour to all who are Truely dilligent, your Sallary with the above £10:-:- wee have paid to Mr. Kingston, the gratuity shall punctually bee satisfyed to whome soever you appoint, and that noe deserving persons may doubt of sutable Encouragements proportionate to their merritts, wee doe hereby asshure both you and them that from time to time wee shall Chearfully gratifie all faithfull Endeavors tending to the Improvement of our trade & well managemt. of our affaires.

*Happy Arrival
of the Deering*

*Sensible of your
Care*

Encouragement

As wee are verry apprehensive of the great need you may have of Provisions by the Last years disappointment soe wee have now sent victualls goods & stores for at Least Two years as p. Invoice Inclosed.⁴

*Stores &
provisions &c.
Sent*

These Suplies, will God willing bee delivered by the *Royall Hudsons Bay & Dering*⁵ Friggts. Capt. Edgcombe & Capt. Young Comandr. wee have been more Large in

*Sent P. Dering
& Royal
Hudsons Bay*

¹ I.e., *Dering* [I]. See p. 87, n. 4.

² I.e., privateers. See *O.E.D.*

³ The former Deputy Governor. For a biography see *H.B.S.*, IX, 320-27.

⁴ Copies of the invoices for the 1690 shipments sent in the *Royal Hudson's Bay, Dering* [II], and the *Prosperous* to York Fort are in A.24/1, fos. 72d.-78d.

⁵ I.e., *Dering* [II]. See p. 87, n. 2.

Provisions, at this Juncture, even far exceeding your owne demands that wee may bee under noe neccessity of sending to you next year, if the warr should Continue, whereof wee are verry doubtfull, must therefore desier your good Husbandry in the frugall management of them accordingly.

*Frugallity
recomd.*

*Fire Ship P.
Capt.
Grimmington*

*the Fire Ships
retn.
Submitted to you*

The two Friggts. are accompained by the *Prosperous* Pinke, Comanded by Capt. Michael Grimington in the nature of a fire Shipp, wee heartily pray all may arrive to you in safety.

Capt. Edgcombes & Capt. Youngs Friggts. are both positively ordered to Returne with our homeward Cargoe, but it is Left to you & your Councell whether the fireship stay in the Countrey with you till next year, or accompany the Friggts. directly home this year, as will bee best for our service the Result is submitted to your discretion, with Relyance on your zeale & fidelety for our most Advantage & Interest.

*to Strengthen
your Seives all
you can*

Wee question not but the Captaines will leave you what men they can spare, and doe enjoyne you with utmost dilligence to add all posible strength to your Fort & factories, Comanding the same to be done at New Severn; Likewise that Constant watch and ward be duely kept soe that if any enemie approach, you bee in no wise surprized Wee have endeavored to answer your desiers in the Quality of the goods you demanded & enlarged their quantity for the Reasons aforementioned hoping all will prove to your satisfaction, and Content the Indians, But you will doe well to Consider the great Losses wee have of Late sustained, the many hazards wee Run through in these times of danger, Besides the extrordinary expence wee are now at in sending suplies, which Tribles the Charge of former years; from hence you may urge to the natives the great difficulties wee undergoe to come to them, & that theirfore they ought now to allow more beavor in Truck for our goods then heretofore, but this also is Left to your wise Conduct, for our benefitt the best you can, *Carefully avoiding any measures which may disgust them.*

*if possible to
advance the
Standard*

*to avoid
deobliging the
Indians*

*Approve your
Building new
fort*

Wee approve your designe to build a fort about eight miles above the present Factory,¹ for Reasons expressed in your

¹ See p. 116.

Letter, Recommending that it be made Regularly, Strong, & with all possible speed, Least an Enemie attempt to possess the place, to the great annoyance and hinderance of our Trade: of which wee not onely Leave you to Judg of in your discretions, but Recomend it to your serious Consideracon whether at this time to be put in Practice, or deferred to a better opertunity Considering the Present Circunstances of Warr betwene the Two Nations;

*referred to you
to determine fit
time*

In our peculiar Care for Aditionary provisions of all sorts, Capt. Youngs Advise to whome you Referr that matter has in all points been taken, And that to such a proportion that wee presume none of your men will hereafter have any Just cause of Complaint, If their has been a Scarcity amongst you heretofore, (unless upon the unavoidable miscarriadg of some shippes) It has been an exceeding trouble & affliction to us, wee haveing alwayes designed plentifull supplies.

*Capt Youngs
advise taken for
Qty. of
Provisions*

Further in answer to your desiers, wee send you great store of meate in stead of fish, never Intending sparingness, in your stores, whatever misfortune has happend against our wills, though on the other side, there may be some unquiett spirits, who will never be Contented, doe all wee Can.

*Plenty of
Supplies alway
intended*

Meat sent

Wee are well pleased with the beginings made in the whale Fishing,¹ which wee recomend to you to promote, by all Imaginable meanes as opertunity presents, as also to discover the River formerly called Buffello now dering river, whence Considerable Traffick may bee expected from the Northerne Indians.

*pleased wth.
Whale Fishery
Discoverys
Deering River*

The Sloope you wrote for should have been sent you, but in these times of warr, men are not to be gotten almost at any Rates; who will adventure in soe small a vessell, which by woefull experience wee find to be too easey prey to an enemie; witnes Capt. Fords miscarriage Last year, wee send you the stores you mention for fitting the Colleton Yacht, with whome wee Conceive you may at Two Turnes suply New Severne, & soe send the Albemarle upon this expedition to Dering River.

Sloope not Sent

Stores Sent

As to encreasing & enlarging of our trade wee are well assshured of your constant dilligence & Care, & doe take notice that you putt us in hopes of seeing yet a Larger trade

*hopes of a Larger
Trade*

¹ At Churchill River. See p. 119.

from you this year God sending our Shipps to Returne in safety, for which you find wee are Ready to express our sence of your faithfull endeavors & in all events of success, you shall ever find fresh Rewards and Renewed testimonies of our perticular Kindness to you.

*experience of
your good
Service*

In Regard therefore of the present warr here with France (of which wee gave you an ample account in our Last years Letters) & that wee have soe much experience of your good services & your usefullnese to us now more especially at this Juncture, wee must & doe earnestly intreate you not to thinke of Removeing or Returneing home at this time of a Publick warr, & when wee are Besett with soe much Trouble & soe many difficulties, & that wee have need of your good Conduct & faithfull Resolution to maintaine & defend our Interest against those unwearied enemies of ours the French, And therefore wee entreate you with patience & Courage to abide by it, & to Inspire the Like Resolutions into your Deputy Mr. Walsh at New Severn, that soe God sending a happy end to this warr, Wee may have Cause to thanke & to Reward you both.

*entreated to
remain*

*to engage the
Indians to Wear
Cloth and Trade
parchment*

Wee gave you a hint the Last yeare that wee would have you *encourage the Indians to weare more of our Cloth; & their beavor Coates Lesse*, that wee may have the more Returnes of Skin Beavor, for the trade is quite turned here in Europe, *& Skin or Parchment Beavor is More now in Request for trade*, & coate Beavor Little, therefore wee desier you to mind this, and all the waies you can to make the Indians to deale more in Parchment & to Send us Lesse Coate; though in some Commodities you should them something more, as halfe a pound of powder more, & have a skin of Parchment Beavor the more for it.

Revolution

For the posture of our affaires here wee Referre you to our Last years Letters soe far as Reached to that time, and to the wonderfull Revolution which it pleased God to worke amongst us for our happinesse under the established Government of our Present Gracious King William & Queene Mary, whome wee did authorize & Require you, and doe now againe Command you Immediately upon arrivall of these to Cause to

be proclaimed in solem manner King & Queene of England Scotland France & Ireland & of all the Territories & dominions thereunto belonging & Consequently of those our parts in Hudsons Bay Defendors of the faith &ct. in whose Right & under Allegiance to whome wee Command you to maintaine our Rights Forts Factories & Countrey against all Invaders or pretenders whatsoever.

*to proclaim King
Wm. & Queen
Mary*

As you will Receive his present Maties. King Williams Gracious Commission under his owne Royall Hand Constituteing you governor of those places which was designed you Last year p. Capt. Leonard Edgcombe, Wee require you to Cause all persons within our Factories, to take an oath of Fidelity to King William & Queen Mary, to be true & faithfull allso to the Right Honble. The Hudsons Bay Compa., & to defend their Forts & Factories & Interest there to the uttermost with their Lives against all Enemies whatsoever.

*King Comssn.
sent*

*Cause the Oath
to be taken*

All things (God be thanked) doe stand Peaceable here at home under the government of our Gracious King & Queen, in Scotland also things are verry well & the Goverment intirely in obedience to King William & Queen Mary, but in Ireland troubles doe yet Continue, the Rebell Irish army being supported & encouraged by succours from France, but our King William is going in Person into Ireland, to head his owne Army there, where he will have a gallant army of near fifty thousand fighting men; & wee doubt not will soone Reduce that Kingdome to obedience & order. The warr is also carried vigorously on by our King & all the Confederates against France, which wee hope (by Gods helpe) may this summer be brought soe Low as to be glad to accept of a Peace & to give every owne their due. And because you must dureing this Warr expect enemies of all sorts, Wee thinke fitt to Lett you Know what wee heare of Capt. Ford, who as wee have Writt you was taken last year by the French, that he is Revolted to the French Interest, & haith taken in hand some Ill designe with the French to goe to Canada, & perhapps to Proceed to your parts, in his English Shipp Called the *North West Fox*, which wee built for him the Last year, & perhaps he may come into Hudsons Straites, or near your Factories &

*Peaceable at
home*

*Intestine Troubles
in Ireland*

*Caution of
suspicion on Capt.
Ford Capt.
Abraham &
Capt. Outlaw*

*Charter
Confirmed by
Act of Parliamt.*

to make it known

*to strengthen
your Selves*

*to Encourage
Discovy.*

thinke to over Reach you by some surprize & pretending himselfe the Companies shipp & the Companies servants, Butt wee forwarne you thereof to stand upon your Guard, to treat him as an Enemy that is within our Territories without our Leave or orders & to seize him & the shipp & ct. to our use if you can without hazard to your owne safety & our Factory. in Like manner Wee Require you to treat Capt. Abraham & Capt. Outlaw, if they happen within your Reach, & all such ungratefull perfidious men, who have eate of our Bread & turne Renegadoes, towards us afterwards, And for your more effectuall prosecuteing & Apprehending such thieves & Robbers of our owne Nation as doe presume to Invade our Territories & Infest our Trade, besides the Royall Prerogative in our Charter, Wee can now give you the happy Information, that wee have obtained our said Charter & all the powers Priviledges Domminions, places & sole trade thereby Granted, to be Confirmed to us by Act of Parliament, which passed the Royall assent on the 20th day of this Instant May, soe that whatsoever was eluded as Prerogative only before is now the Law of our Land & as such to bee enforced, which exceeds all Proclamations & which wee Require you to Make publickly knowne to all our men, & to all subjects of England as ocasion shall bee, As you may see by our Ample Cargos sent you, that wee take care both to support you and all our servants, & allso to enable you to promote, & encrease our Trade soe Wee would have you spare for noe Cost & paines to secure your selves & to make our Forts strong against all opposition whatsoever, for that end in this dangerous Juncture Wee Cannot Judg that you can bee with Lesse then fifty good hands in your Factory, & Twenty at Least or five & Twenty at New Severne. And though wee have not been able to gett soe many fresh men to send you as Labouring servants yet God sending our shippes safe to you Wee hope there will be found soe many supernumerary men out of our shippes to be left in the Countrey & yet our shippes to Returne strong enough. *Iff any Two or three of our servants shall show their forwardness to goe upon new discovries, wee require you to encourage the undertaking and upon their good success, to allow*

*them such advance of wages or gratuity for their paines, as you in your discretion shall find Convenient, which wee will upon your Intimation of it to us allow & approve of;*¹ wee also most earnestly recomend to you the speedy settlement of Dering River which is Likely to prove a Considerable place of trade, and that without Loss of time Least an Enemie should bee Before hand with us, wherefore wee have againe made an Addition of severall sorts of Provisions that you may the Better undertake the Designe, And if the *Prosperous* Capt. Grimington Winter with you, hee may bee goeing early away next spring, with such hands as you shall Judg propper to fix a Factorie there.

promise Reward

Settlemt. Deering River

provided for

If any perticular member or members of the Company or any other persons whatsoever should have wrote or shall write any private Letter to the prejudice of the Company, you are not to take any notice thereof; but to keepe to the strict Rules & orders of the Generall Letter. *Wee desier you to encourage the Indians to bring downe any minerals or druggs they can meet with,* which wee would have you send us, and to marke & number them, as wee ordered Last year; Wee expect you should Receive the severall Captaines into your Councell & *to treat them with all Civill Respect* dureing their stay with you; And if you meet with any French that are trading or stragling within the Limitts of our Territories, you are to use your best endeavors to seize them, & send them prisoners for England, hiding from them as much as in you Lyes the Scituation and strength of your fort & the Condition of your factory.

to Regard no private Letter

to encourage Indians to Bring minerals or Drugs

Capt. to be in Council & treated Civilly

to make prisoners of all French

To Conclude should any thing bee heere omitted you will finde it more fully advised in the Last packett, soe Beseeching the Almighty Providence to Gaurd you under its Divine Protection wee Rest your Loveing Freinds ²

MARLEBOROUGH ³ Governor
EDW. DERING Dept. Governr.

¹ See p. 115.

² For the names of the men elected in November 1689 to serve for one year as Governor, Deputy Governor and on the Committee, see Appendix A, p. 306.

³ John, Lord Churchill, had been created Earl of Marlborough in April 1639.

SAMUELL CLARKE
 NICO. HAYWARD
 SAMUELL FOOTE¹
 SAMUELL CUDWORTH
 THO. CHAMBERS²
 EDW. WEST³
 THOMAS PITTS⁴

Postscript

*Servants to
 Continue in
 present Posts*

And for the more peaceable & orderly Government of our Factories in this time of Publick troubles, our express order is, that none shall Remove their posts or station wherein they are dureing this present warr (unless such whose times are expired, & Cannot be prevailed upon to stay Longer or for the better service of the Compa. are Removed by the Governor) but

¹ Samuell Foote of London, merchant, first acquired Hudson's Bay Company stock in February 1687. He was elected to the Committee in November 1689 and held office until the following November. He disposed of his remaining holding in January 1691. See Introduction, pp. xl-xli.

² Thomas Chambers, Citizen and Waxchandler of London, held varying amounts of Hudson's Bay Company stock from March 1689 to November 1691. He was elected a Committee Member in November 1689, but was "Removed . . . for his misdemeanour" in the following August. (See Appendix A, p. 306, n. 2, and Introduction, pp. xl, xli, li).

³ Edward West, Citizen, Girdler and Merchant of London. References to him will be found in *H.B.S.*, VIII and IX. He first acquired Hudson's Bay Company stock in December 1680 but sold it in the following February. In October 1682 West was appointed the Company's first warehousekeeper in London, and in February 1689 he again became a stockholder. His appointment as warehousekeeper apparently ended when he was elected to the Committee in November 1689, but he continued to supervise the warehouse until Alexander Jenings became warehousekeeper in January 1691. West was re-elected to the Committee in November of 1690 and 1691. He sold his stock in July 1692, but in the following October he again became an adventurer. He sold out for the last time in November 1692.

⁴ Thomas Pitts of Wimbledon, merchant, was a brother of Stephen Pitts (see Appendix A, p. 305, n. 4). He first acquired stock in the Hudson's Bay Company in January 1689. He was elected to the Committee in November of the same year, and was re-elected in each of the next nine years. The last committee he attended was on November 7, 1698, and he died after his final election on November 29, 1698, and before December 14, 1699.

acquiesce Cheerfully and obediently in their Respective places & Employments during these troubles or our further pleasure signified, as they Expect our favor or tender our displeasure, for wee Cannot but thinke emulation Ambition & discontent must bee a great prejudice to our affaires & to the Common Benefitt of the Company, at this Juncture; againe ashureing all persons that shall behave themselves modestly & peaceably in their severall places, they shall be sure to find the Companies favor & agreeable Rewards according to their merrits, Haveing Resolved on our parts not to faile of giving encouragement to all whome wee find dilligent and active to promote our Interest, Wee have amongst others taken into Consideration Mr. Lawson the warehousekeeper & being well satisfied of his Carraidg and Care in that station, have ordered him a gratuity of Twenty pounds, and moreover Complied with his humble Request in Increasing his sallary to £40 p. Ann. till he shall be Called home or Removed by order from hence of which you are to give him Information, & wee doe not doubt but he will study to bee deserveing of this our favour.

*prejudice
Ambition &
discontent*

Rewards to merit

*Gratuity to
Mr. Lawson*

Upon due Consideration wee doe thinke fitt to order you to shipp all our Parchment Beavor & one third of our Coate Beavor on Board Capt. Edgcombe & the Residue on Board Capt. Young, for that the former is a new shipp & strong & wee doe Reckon of a better defence.

We have sent you a quarter Caske Canary a quarter Caske Sherry and Two hoggsheads Strong beere which is presented to you from us for your owne drinking.

Presents Sent

Wee have been able to gett but three actuall servants to abide with you viz. Antho. Henchman Phillipp Buffery¹ & Geo. Newton² to whome you may Administer the oath of fidelity upon their arrivall wee haveing through hast forgott to doe it here.

*Servants
Entertain'd*

Wee have sent a Jointed Babie to stand in your Roome in

Toy sent

¹ Anthony Henchman and Philip Buffery were each engaged for four years at £9 per annum (A.1/12, fo. 16-16d.).

² George Newton, tailor, was engaged for four years at £12 per annum (A.1/12, fo. 19d.). He was, however, discharged by Governor Geyer in September 1692 and returned to England (A.15/4, fo. 20; A.1/15, fo. 24d.).

view of the Indians, send us word how the Indians are affected with it or whether they fancie such Toyes.

EDWARD DERING Dept. Governr.

SAMUELL CLARKE

NICO. HAYWARD

SAMUELL CUDWORTH

THO. CHAMBERS

EDWARD WEST

Hudsons Bay House London

the 22th May 1690

A Letter to Mr. Walsh

*Sending Ships
last Year*

Wee were sending Last year Two shippes into the Bay with Large supplies of Provisions goods & stores viz. the *Royall Hudsons Bay* Friggtt. Comanded by Capt. Leonard Edgcombe and the *North West Fox* by Capt. Ford who on their voyage theitherwards about 40 Leagues from the Lands End meeting French Privateers, Ford Imediately Surrendring became their Prize and was Carried into France, But Capt. Edgcombe after severall houres fight, at Length gott Cleare, yet soe disabled as thereby neccessitated to Returne for Plimouth to Refitt, where though all posible endeavors were used spedily to Repaire his shipp for the sea againe, It could not however bee effected, untill the season was too farr spent, beyond the hopes of Remedy to our Infinite greife, more especially in Regard of the Scarcity wee apprehend you must needs undergoe through this disapointment in the want of those supplies.

Miscarriage

Stores &c. Sent

Large quantities of victualls goods & stores sufficient for Two years & upwards are now sent by Capt. Edgcombe aforementioned and the *Dering* Friggtt. Capt. Young Commandr. God of his Mercie grant their Safe arrivall, As wee made more then ordinary Additions to these Last percells by way of Prevention to the worst may happen, fearing Least the Continuance of our Nationall warr against France, should either obstruct, or Crosse accidents Intercept our next years Consignements, soe wee heartily Reccomend the good

Husbandry of whatever comes to your hands, to your peculiar care & frugall managment. *Frugality*

Whilst wee were in the fairest hopes of a good settlement at the Bottome of the Bay even then comes the unwelcome newes that Capt. Bond, with the force attending him had been surprized & Bafled by a few French men, the Capt. & his mate being first entrapt, the subtile enemies soone afterwards seized our Factories shippes & goods, to the Companies extream Loss, & noe Less shame of our cheife officers; who neither Considered the former sad examples, of that Nations Base attempts, nor Regarded our Frequent Cautions against their treacherous designements. *Loss at the bottom of the Bay*

Wee therefore enjoyne you with utmost dilligence to add all Imaginable strength to your Fort, & keepe Constant Guard; not doubting your Resolute Bravery in defence of the place whenever attackt, Like a gallant man, truely sensible of his owne Reputation his employers Interest & his Countries Honour. And that you may see our Resolves to Leave noe merritt unrewarded for your further encouragement in the Preservation of our Rights and Encrease of the trade wee have voted you fifty pounds Gratuity, over & above your Fixed salary, which shall be paid to whome soever you appoint desireing you would asssure the Rest under your Command that wee will not bee unmindfull of those who performe their duties, especially of such as in times of hazard behave themselves Manfully, which wee more Confidently depend on from every one & all of you, their Maties. haveing in their declaration of warr against France mentioned amongst others, the sufferings of our Company, as a Just & good ground of it, since which the Parliamēt have by a Late Act Confirmed our Trade Priveledges and Imunities, allowing our Lands & territories to be a Colonie belonging to the Crowne of England, soe that wee are now settled by the Law of the Land, which you are to signifie to all our people, and to all subjects of England as oportunity shall Require, Wee think good Likewise to acquaint you that Capt. Ford who was taken Last year, with our shipp the *Northwest Fox* a Smale Friggtt. burthen about 70 tons, has wee heare taken service with the French, If *to Strengthen your Selves & keep good Guard*

Gratuity

Charter Settled by Law

Caution agst. Ford Abraham & Outlaw

hee Capt. Abraham Capt. Outlaw, or any other who turne Renegadoes, should aproach you, wee forwarne you to stand upon your guard & to treat them as enemies, and If you can without hazard to your selves seize upon them & their shippes to our use.

*to Send us
mineralls &
Drugs*

Wee desier you to *send us all mineralls and druggs* and to marke & number them, and to keepe samples by you that wee may know them, So Recommending you to the Protection of Almighty God wee Remaine

Yr. Loveing Freinds

MARLBOROUGH Governor
EDWARD DERING Dept. Governr.
SAMUELL CLARKE
NICO. HAYWARD
SAMUELL CUDWORTH
SAMUELL FOOTE
THOMAS CHAMBERS
THOMAS PITTS
EDWARD WEST

Hudsons Bay House London
the 22th May 1690

Sayling orders or Instructions to
Capt. Leonard Edgcombe

*to sail to Hayes
River*

by Orkneys

*Keep Company
with. Consorts*

*to deliver packet
&c.*

You are with the first faire wind that offers, to Sayle the *Royall Hudsons Bay* Friggatt. under your Command, for Hayes River near Port Nelson, Requiring you positively to take the Northern Course by the Orkneys in Scotland, and to Keepe Company with the *Dering* Friggatt Capt. James Young, Commandr. and with the *Prosperous* Pinke Capt. Michael Grimington. Commander, and being arrived at or near Yorke fort in Hayes River afforesaid you are to deliver to Capt. George Geyer, their Maties. Royall Comission, Dated last year, Constituting the said Capt. Geyer Governour & Comander in Cheife of all the northerly part of the said Bay, you are Likewise to make due delivery to the said Capt. Geyer

or any other our Governor there for the time being of all such provisions Goods and stores as goe Consigned to him by Bill of Lading, and haveing made a due delivery of your outward Cargoe, you are to Receive, all such Beavor Furrs & other goods as our Governr. or Cheife factor shall Lade or tender to be Laden, & with all posible Expedition you are to depart Hayes River aforesaid, with the said *Dering* Friggtt. Keeping her Company as farr as wind & weather will possibly permitt, and God sending you to arrive at the Port of London, you are to make due delivery and end the Intended voyage, and as you have the Command of our best Friggtt. wee have Required the other Captaines to advise & Consult with you upon all Emergencies, not doubting but you will Likewise Consult & agree with them in all things for the Generall good & Advantage of the Company, and that all your Transactions will be managed with that mildness and discretion, that noe unlucky diference may happen amongst you, Consider you are all one Interest, wee enjoyne you to preserve peace and a Right understanding, and to Lay aside all private animosities, in Regard they must neades prove exceedingly prejudiciall to the publick.

*to receive Home
Cargo*

Sail to London

*other Captains to
Consult you*

*to continue a
good
understanding*

In case you find the French have surprised & seized on any of our men Forts or shippes or Invaded any of our Rights and teritories, wee expect from your Courage & Conduct your utmost endeavors to Recover them, and that you will Repossesse us and make us masters againe of them, before you Leave the place, noewayes Questioning but you will endeavor in all your actions to doe that which shall be most for the Honour of the Nation and the Benefitt & Advantage of the Company.

*to endeavour to
Right the Compy.*

If you meet any of his Maties. subjects or others trading or sayling within Hudsons Bay, who are not employed by the Company, wee doe by these presents, by virtue of our Charter Prohibiting Interlopers and the Confirmation thereof by a Late act of Parliament, Require and authorize you to seize them & their vessells as Lawfull prize, and to Bring them for England.

*to Seize Enemys
& Interlopers*

Wee desier you for the Better defence of our Forts to

*to leave some of
your Ships Compy.
at the Factory*

Leave so many of your shipp's Company as are willing to
Remaine there in our service and as you Can Conveniently
spare.

reward Merit

Wee very much Rely upon your experience Courage &
good Conduct & that you will have alwayes in your thoughts,
how to promote the trew Interest & Advantage of the
Company, desireing you to bee ashured wee shall not be
wanting in sutable Rewards, soe Leaveing you to the
Protection of the Almighty & wishing you a Prosperus voyage
wee Remaine

Yr. Loveing Freinds

MARLEBOROUGH Governr.

EDWARD DERING Dept. Governr.

SAMUELL CLARKE

NICHOLAS HAYWARD

SAMUELL CUDWORTH

SAMUELL FOOTE

THOMAS CHAMBERS

THOMAS PITTS

EDWARD WEST

Hudsons Bay House London

the 22th of May 1690

Sayling orders or Instructions to

Capt. James Young

*Commdr. of
Deering*

Upon the experience wee have had of your faithfull service,
and the Good opinion wee have of your Continued fidelity
upon all ocasions to the wellfare & Interest of the Hudsons
Bay Company, we have chosen you to Command the *Dering*
Friggatt, not doubting but you will behave your selfe in all
things as becomes you for the Interest and Advantage of the
Company and for your owne Reputation.

In order whereunto wee give you these following
Instructions.

Service of God

In the first place wee Recomend unto you the Care of the
service of God, and doe Require you to have prayers daly

Read on board the Friggitt. under your Command, that so the Blessing of God may attend your endeavors in our service.

You are with the first opportunity of wind to saile the said Friggatt for Hayes River near Port Nelson in Hudsons Bay takeing the Northern Course by the Orkneys in Scotland, Requireing you to Keepe Company with the *Royall Hudsons Bay* Friggitt. Capt. Leonard Edgcombe Commandr. & with the *Prosperous Pinke* Capt. Michael Grimington Commandr. and being arrived att or near Yorke fort in Hayes River aforesaid you are to deliver to Capt. Geo. Geyer our Governr. there, our Letters & packetts, as also all such Provisions goods & stores as goe Consigned to him by bill of Ladeing, and haveing made a due delivery of your outward Cargoe, you are to Receive on board you, all such Beavor furs & other goods, as our Governr. or Cheife factor there shall Lade or tender to be Laden, and being dispatched thence depart with all possible Expedition Keepeing Company with the said *Royall Hudsons Bay* Friggitt. soe farr forth as wind & weather will posibly permitt you, & God Granting you arrive at the Port of London you are there to make due delivery and End the Intended voyage Wee Require you from time to time to advise & Consult with Capt. Edgcombe as being the Eldest Commandr. & of whose experience and zeale for our service, wee are entirely satisfied, and therefore enioyne you to pay him all Civill Respects, and to avoide all difference and Contentions, which may any wayes prove detrementall to the publick benefitt, not doubting but he will Likewise Conferr with you upon all ocasions; If you find the french have surprized & seized on any of our men Forts or shipps, or Invaded any of our Rights & Territories, wee Expect from your Courage & Conduct yr. utmost endeavor to Recover them, and that you will Repossess us, and make us againe Masters of them, before you Leave the place, and be assshured wee shall bountifully Reward any Meritorius service you shall doe therein, If you meete any of his Maties. Subjects or others tradeing or sailing within the Limitts of the Companies Charter, which is now Confirmed by a Late act of Parliament, wee doe hereby Require and Authorize you to seize them &

Sail to Hayes River

by Orkneys

Keep Comp'y. with Consorts

to deliver packet &c.

to receive home Cargo

Sail to London

to Obey Capt. Edgcomb

to avoid disputes

to Recover the Compys. Rights

Reward Merit

to Seize Interlopers

*to leave some of
the Ships Compy.
in Country*

their vessels as Lawfull prize, Wee entreat you to Leave as many of yr. men in our Forts as are Inclined to tarry there, and as you can spare, without too much weakining your shipp so heartily Praying for your Prosperous voyage & safe Returne to us wee Rest

Your Loveing Freinds

MARLEBOROUGH Governr.

Hudsons Bay House
London the 22th of
May 1690

EDWARD DERING Dept. Governr.

SAMUELL CLARKE

NICHOLAS HAYWARD

SAMUELL CUDWORTH

SAMUELL FOOTE

THOMAS CHAMBERS

THOMAS PITTS

EDWARD WEST

Sayling orders or Instructions to

Capt. Michaell Grimington

*Comm'd.
Prosperous*

You haveing spent many years in our service, and being well perswaded of your experience & Courage, Wee have Chosen you as Commander of our Pinke called the *Prosperous*, which wee have fitted as a Fier shipp. In the first place wee must enjoyne your Constant Observance of Publick prayers both morning & evening on board your vessell dureing the whole terme of your voyage, that from thence wee may expect Gods blessing on our endeavours.

Service of God

*to sail to York
Fort*

You are with the first faire wind that shall present to depart out of this port of London in Company with the *Royal Hudsons Bay* Friggtt. Capt. Leonard Edgcombe Commander, and the *Dering* Friggtt. Capt. James Young Commandr. for and towards a better deffence and safeguard to them, and if possible not to Leave them dureing the whole voyage to Yorke fort in Hayes River in Hudsons Bay, And haveing thought fitt to Choose you as a person whome wee Judg qualifedy for such an undertakeing wee hope if you meet an enemie you will show that Courage and Resolution as becomes such an employ &

Service expected

trust for the Honour of the Nation, the Advantage of the Company & your owne Creditt, Butt if you find no oportunity to put in execution the designe you goe upon, God sending you with your Pinke safely to arrive at Hayes River aforesaid, you are either to Remaine & abide there or to Returne home as our Governr. and Councell there shall direct, to whose discretion wee entirely Referr that Matter, not doubting but they will act, what they shall Judge best for the Publick Good & Safety of the Compa. Dureing your outward voyage you are to Advise and Consult with Capt. Leonard Edgcombe & Capt. James Young, But all the while you stay in the Countrey wee enioyne you to submitt your selfe to the Command & direction of the Governr. & his Councell there Resident, and as a marke of our esteem have appointed you to be one amongst them, and in case they shall thinke it Convenient early next year to send you with this vessell or with the *Albemarle* upon the Discoverie of Dering River which Lyes to the northward of Churchill River, the Well settlement of which wee Looke upon to be of great moment to us, wee noe wayes question your cheerfull undertakeing of it, and that you will give such proofs of your dilligence & Conduct as may Redound to your owne Reputation and fame, and encrease that Respect & Kindness wee at present have of you, If you meet with any french or other Forrigners tradeing or sailing within the Limitts of our Charter, or any of his Maties. Subjects Interlopeing thither, you are to seize the offenders and their vessells, and send their persons shipp and Goods into England, where they shall bee severely prosecuted as Contemners of the Kings authority confirmed and settled to us by act of Parliament.

to obey Governor

*to Obey Capt.
Edgcombe on the
voyage*

*Discovery Dering
River*

*to Seize French
or Interlopers*

And as wee have Chosen you to goe upon this expedition wee hope you will express more then ordinary Care & Zeale for the Good and Benefitt of the Company in all things, and wee doe ashure you that as you have Left the Reward of your service, entirely to the Compa. so you shall not find us narrow handed in that perticular, when you have done your part, but Bountifull in our Gratuity to you In case you Winter at Hayes River, Wee expect from your shippes Crew, to Administer

Reward promised

what assistance you can to our Factory, soe Recomending you
to the Protection of the Almighty wee Rest

Yr. Loveing Freinds

MARLEBOROUGH Governr.

Hudsons Bay House EDWARD DERING Dept. Governr.

London the 22th of SAMUELL CLARKE

May 1690 NICHOLAS HAYWARD

SAMUELL CUDWORTH

SAMUELL FOOTE

THOMAS CHAMBERS

THOMAS PITTS

EDWARD WEST

A Letter to Governor Geyer, & the Rest of the Councell at
Port Nelson

Wee Recd. yours of the 2d of Septmr. Last p. Capt. Edgcombe & Capt. Young who arrived here about the 20th of Octobr. Last with our Cargo according to Invoice, wch. being considerable as times are makes us the more sensible of your care & dilligence in our concernes, by the Improvemt. of our trade, for wch. you may be sure of all suitable Returnes of kindness from us. *Satisfaction in your Services*

Wee were alsoe very glad of the early arrivall of our Shippes with you, the Last year by wch. you were not onely well provided with stores and provisions, but also sufficiently strengthned with men, & were in a condition to withstand our old enemies the French,¹ who are now (wee are affraid) become nearer neighbours then ever, & soe by consequence ought to incite you to be upon your guard, but wee hope that our former cautions & your owne experience will be sufficient to arme you against all their attempts, either secrett or open, & that our shippes will find you in as good A Condition as when they departed from you the last year which we heartily pray for. Wee have this year alsoe sent you two Shippes viz. the *Royall Hudsons Bay* Friggtt. Capt. Edgcombe Commander & the *Loyalty*² a hired ship Capt. James Young Commandr. & altho' we sent³ you such Large suplyes of provisions the last year yet notwithstanding we have againe sent you what you desired by *Cautions against the French* *two Ships Sent* *Supplies Sent*

¹ As Geyer's letter (which the Governor and Committee acknowledged) was dated September 2, 1690, the unsuccessful attack by the French must have taken place before that date and after the arrival of the *Royal Hudson's Bay*, *Dering* [II], and the *Prosperous* from England. After the attack on York the French went to New Severn. See also pp. 116, 128, 129, n.1, and Crouse, *Lemoyne d'Iberville*, pp. 63-6, where Iberville is named as in charge of the expedition made up of the *Sainte-Anne*, *Armes de la Compagnie* and the *Saint-François-Xavier*.

² On March 4, 1691, the Committee agreed to charter the *Loyalty* for £370 per month "to Carry 60 Marriners 24 guns & 4 pederos" from the owners Arthur Champneys, Wadham Windham, Thomas Pitts, Thomas Flowerdew, Thomas Papillion, John Giles, John Batt, George Bonn and Richard Enys (A.1/13, fos. 10d.-15).

³ Copies of the invoices for the 1691 shipments to York Fort sent in the *Royal Hudson's Bay* and in the *Loyalty* are in A.24/1, fos. 79d.-85.

your indent, as alsoe all such trading goods & stores therein mentioned, being resolved (by Gods assistance) to give you all the encouragemt. that wee are able to doe, & hope that tho' you are soe largely provided for, according to your owne desire, yet that you will see that nothing be profusely spent or squandred away, and and the more carefull ought you to be (especially at this Juncture of publick Warr) the hazard being soe great that should we not be able to send you supplyes the next year, yet you may have sufficient of all things till the year following.

Frugallity

prime goods Sent

And as we have supplied you sufficiently with provisions for quantity, so wee have been as carefull to answer your desier as to the goodness & quallity of your trading goods, guns especially giving the makers a great charge to amend those faults you complaine of in your Letter, wee have also endeavoured to gett you good hatchetts and Ice Chissells such as will be serviceable and strong according to the Patterns sent us; & that will please the Indians for you may be suer it is our Interest to have good goods, & such wee endeavour to gett, but should any thing be over looked by us as perhapps there may in soe great a quantity of goods, Wee desier you to send us an accompt what & whose they are, that wee may both Right our selves & you Wee Commend your prudence & are glad you have perswaded the Remote Indians to come downe to our factory for the future upon the assureance that they shall be furnished with good wares which you may rely upon, but on the other side you will doe well to consider the great Losses we have sustained & the extravagant Rate we pay for our Commodities, Every thing being dearer then formerly besides the extraordinary expence wee are at in sending you goods the charge being neare Treble, from whence you may urge to the natives the great difficulties wee undergoe to come to them, & Therefore ought to allow more Beavor in truck for our goods then heretofore, which we hope you will endeavour to your utmost to effect by such Just and reasonable argument you can make to the Indians to advance our Standard without which it will turne but to A slender accompt, upon the reasons aforesaid, But even at last we must Leave it to your prudent

*Pleased with the
remote Indians
coming to Trade*

*to Increase
Standard*

management & discretion. Wee Continue Likewise our former advice of Improveing the quantity of parchment Beavor, Tho' with some dimunition of Coate, the former being still something more in request then the other, Tho' both verry low in price at presant also we Cannot but againe Recommend to you the searching out & discovery of all maner of drugs, Dying Commodities whether in Roote or floure Likewise all mineralls hoping at last in that vast tract of ground, You may find by the Indians or your owne industry, something that may turne to accompt, & *are glad, you prevailed with Henery Kelsey¹ to undertake a Journey with the Indians to those Remote parts hoping the Encouragemt. you have given him in the advance of his Sallery will Instigate other young men in the factory to follow his Example.²*

*to get Indians to
Trade parchment*

*Minerals &
Drugs &c.*

It is noe small Satisfaction to us to understand that you have soe well fortified your selves in your factory of Port Nelson

*Fortified Port
Nelson*

¹ *Parliamentary Report*, 1749, p. 275, Geyer [to Governor and Committee], York Fort, September 8, 1690, "This Summer I sent up Henry Kelsey (who chearfully undertook the Journey) up into the Country of the *Assinæ Poets*, with the Captain of that Nation, to call, encourage, and invite, the remoter *Indians* to a Trade with us; and am in great Hopes of a plentiful Increase of Trade from that Nation". Kelsey had left York Fort on June 12, 1690. He did not return until the summer of 1692. For his introductory remarks and "Journal of a voyage & Journey . . . to discover & bring to a Commerce the Naywatame poets . . .", see Doughty and Martin, *Kelsey Papers*, pp. 1-19. See also pp. xi-xxii.

² To these remarks Geyer replied on September 12, 1691: "I have received a Letter from *Henry Kelsey*, the young Man I sent up last Year with the *Assinæ Poets*, which gives me to understand, that the *Indians* are continually at War within Land, but have promised to get what Beaver they can against next Year, others not before the next Summer come Twelve-months, when they promise to come down; but *Kelsey* I have ordered to return the next Year, with as many *Indians* as he can, that, being informed of the Humour and Nature of these strange People, I may know the better how to manage them at their Arrival. I have sent the said young Man a new Commission, and necessary Instructions, with a Supply of those Things he wrote for, that he might the better accomplish the End I sent him for, and gave him Charge to search diligently for Mines, Minerals, or Drugs of what Kind soever, and to bring Samples of them down with him; and for other young Men qualified to undertake such a Journey, when I see their Willingness, and find it convenient, I will not fail to give them, by his Example, all suitable Encouragement" (*Parliamentary Report*, 1749, p. 275).

which we desier you still to continue that noe place may be easely attempted by the enemie, & hope that the number of hands you have had the last year with you, has compleated that worke.

But as for new Severn being soe Ill maned at the Comeing away of our Last shippes from thence to yr. factory, it was A Thing that could not well be helped by which occation, that place could be in noe Condition of defence But are verry glad that Mr. Walsh tooke that Resolution by your advice to burne & destroy it, that it might not be any wayes Serviceable to our Enemies,¹ & whether as yet to make any attempt for the recovery of it Wee leave wholly to your discretion, but wee thinke it not to be done with the Hazard or least weakning of our maine Factory at Port Nelson.

*Factory at New
Severn Burnt*

*Building Small
fort above Port
Nelson referred
to you*

What you wrote to us formerly about building a small Forte above your factory wee Entirely referr that matter to you & your Councell when you shall thinke it Convenient to be done, but above all wee desier you to consider these times of Publick Warr & to have a peculiar Regard to the defence and Safety of your factory of Port Nelson what ever it cost: as for the mode or fashion of the Iron Stove you sent us over wee could heartily wish it had been possible for us to have sent one or more of them, but we doe understand from all the forges both here & beyond Sea, that never any ovall Topps or Covering were ever Cast, nor will they undertake to doe it, But those of flatt Tops are Common in Germany and Swedland, whereof we send you one for a tryall wch. Came too Late to send you the Last Year, this onely may be altred (if you think fitt) to have the door at one end, if either of these fashions please, you may write for more which may be as Large as you desier, but wee are afraid it will not warme soe many Romes as the Brick Stoves doe.

Iron Stove

Wee are still of the same opinion as formerly viz. to secure

¹ See p. 113. The arrival of the French at New Severn must have taken place between August 12 and September 7, 1690, the dates of Thomas Walsh's letters to the Governor and Committee. See p. 128. From an entry regarding the payment of wages to Richard Liddiard, who was apparently thought (in error) to have been captured by the French, the date of their arrival at New Severn was August 15, 1690 (A.15/3, fos. 180, 199).

& send for England all such French as you shall gett or take prisoners And altho' you might have some account of the strength of the French the Last year by John Cartier¹ (whome you sent home with Capt. Edgcombe), yet would not have you too Credelous, especially of a French Man Borne, who tho' he had been formerly in our service yet had not been arrived here above a mounth or soe but tooke his opertunity to escape & runn away Wee have a Just & due sense of Mr. Walsh his fidelity as well as ability in our Service, & In regard New Severne Factory is not now in being & that hee is with you at Port Nelson, Wee doe not doubt but that his great experience will be very helpfull in our Service, & alsoe make the Government of that place the more easy to you, and Therefore we doe constistute and continue him Deputy next to you in that Place & over all our Territories or new Settlements in that Tract of our Countrey with the same Sallary of Fifty pounds p. annum but we cannot possibly dispence with your

*to Seize & send
home French*

*not be too
Credulous of
French*

*Mr. Walsh
Depty. at Port
Nelson*

¹ When and from which direction this Frenchman arrived at York Fort cannot be found from the Company's archives, but it is suggested that he deserted from the French during August 1690, when they unsuccessfully attacked York Fort, but took New Severn (see pp. 113, 116, 128). The York Fort account book (B.239/d/2, fo. 58) shows that before he was sent to London in the autumn of 1690, "John Carteer the French man", was "spared": "one blancket, 1 pr. worsted stockings 1 pr. French Fall shoes 2 pr. Irish stockings, 1 Kersey Waistcoate, 1 pr. Kersey drawers, 1 pr. grey cloath breeches, 2 blew shirts, 3 lb. Leafe Tobacco, & 2 Gallons Brandy". The Governor and Committee remarked in the above letter that Cartier "had been formerly in our service". As the records for the period are incomplete it is not possible to obtain full details, but it can be stated that a "John Carter", seaman, sailed for York Fort aboard the *Huband* (Captain Richard Smithsend) in 1687 (A.1/9, fo. 19d. and A.15/3, fo. 94). This vessel was captured by the French at "Prince Ruperts River" early in 1689 (see p. 83, n. 1) and presumably "Carter" was taken prisoner with the rest of the crew. If this "Carter" was identical with the Frenchman, "Cartier", sent to London from York Fort in 1690, it would appear that after his capture by the French he had no choice but to remain with his captors, and that when the attacks were made on York and Severn in August 1690 his recent local knowledge was of help. If this surmise is correct he either made a genuine attempt to return to his former employers, or he went to York as a spy on behalf of the French. Whether he was a prisoner or had come to York voluntarily, it may have been necessary to outfit the Frenchman in a decent manner so that he could appear before the Committee, but the generous amounts of tobacco and brandy suggest a guest or a returned Company servant rather than a captive.

*cant possibly
agree to your
coming home*

coming home this year for many reasons more particularly expressed in a separate Letter from us to your selfe which when you have considered; Wee doe not doubt but you will cheerfully continue there one year more, affaires here in Europe (as to the Warre) being at A greater Crisis for this Summer then ever and God alone knowing on which side he shall please to cast the advantage of the scale, Soe that both as to the safety of our Factory & as to the improvement & enlargeing our trade in this Juncture Wee have neede of double helpe and United force.

*Expedition to
Canada from
New England*

*disigne
IllConducted*

There was an expedition sett out the Last year from New England of severall shipps with Land forces on board them against Canada under the Conduct of one Sr. Wm. Phippes,¹ who went up the River of Quebeck, & plunderd & destroyed & did much damage to the French there, & might have taken the whole Countrey of Canada, but the designe was ill conducted, & not sufficiently provided with Ammunition & being alsoe too late in the year they were forced to returne: Sr. Wm. Phippes is now here in England to solliciate assistance from the Governmt. but what Encouragement he hath found wee cannot informe you: This is certaine that that attempt upon them at Canada will excite them to the highest pitch of Revenge which they can possibly carry on either against the New England men or against us in Hudsons Bay, & we being the weakest you must provide your selves against all the machinations wch. fraud or force from soe malicious & provoked an enemy can contrive against you, But we hope God will protect you, & if there should be occation that you will all shew your selves Brave & Trew Englishmen in defence of our rights as well as your owne lives & Liberties, assuring every one that not the meanest person that shall behave himselfe gallantly but shall plentifully tast the Liberallity & kindnesse of the Company: Nor can any thing better stirre up the true English valour in your hearts Then when we shall tell you that as our whole Nation & the Honour of it is now at

*In any Attempts
of the French to
behave Bravely*

¹ William Phipps (1651–95), was knighted in 1687 and in 1691 he was appointed Governor of Massachusetts. The expedition of 1690 against the French occupation of Quebec and Montreal was a total failure. See *D.N.B.*

stake this year here in Europe, Soe our Glorious King William is allready in Person in the Field, being passed over into Flanders with a Resolution Himselfe to Command the Confederate Army there this whole Summer, whom God preserve & make victorious who is the true Defendour of our Faith, our Rights and Liberties. You know very well how earnest wee have formerly been wth. you for the Settling of Churchill River & the Whale fishing Trade there; Which *Settle CR* was pretty well begun in the year 1689¹ when wee received about 10 Tonns of Blubber from thence, but we had not sufficient Caske there at that time, & an accident burnt downe Our house, & the Warre hath interrupted it since: *Nevertheless wee earnestly desire that that settlement should goe forward, & that you would detach soe many hands as you can possibly spare with all speed to goe & settle there & bee in readinesse against the Season for the Whale fishing and for that purpose wee have tooke care now to send you* *to further Whale Fishery* *Tonns of Caske in staves* *ready bound up fitt immediately to putt together besides the Casks* *Casks Sent & Coopers* which Capt. Edgcombe & Capt. Younge will be able to leave you, & we have also sent you 2 Coopers which was a maine thing necessary. The further River also more northward called Buffelo River (& which you were enjoyned to call Dering River) wee still desire to be settled as soon as possible, but both one or the other or both of them wee must leave to your Judgment & discretion together with your Councell, how & when you shall find it most seasonable & best to put in practice with regard alwayes to the safety & sufficient strength of our maine & principall Factory of Port Nelson And in order to the Compassing these good designes Wee have endeavoured to send you as many Land Servants as wee could possibly gett, *Servants Sent* & in your computation of fullfilling all our desires, if you find

¹ See p. 97. Returning from inland to Churchill on August 3, 1689, Kelsey found "ye house was Reduced to ashes . . ." (Doughty and Martin, *Kelsey Papers*, p. 32). No further attempt to establish Churchill River was made until 1717. When Knight went ashore on July 16, 1717, he remarked that "a fitting place to build a house" could not be found "but at one place . . . where formerly the English had built one wch they found so badd that After they had built it I believe they was so Disscouraged that they sett it a fire to Run away by the light of it" (Kenney, *Founding of Churchill*, pp. 119-20).

*to engage Capt.
Grimington to
Stay 1 year
Longer*

*to Send home
Edmd. Blake
unless he desires
to Stay Longer*

*Sinclar & Varner
Sent you*

*appointed to be in
Council*

*Gratuity to John
Bennet, agreeing
with &
Employing in
futer referred to
you*

your Number too weake, Wee give you leave to detain in our Service as many Seamen as you can agree with & are willing to serve us & there Countrey on soe good an occation, amongst which wee shall take it kindly of Capt. Grimington if he will stay with the shipp *Prosperous* one yeare more, for considering all things & the times, Wee conceive you cannot but have occation of his helpe & the assistance of his shipp, but one Edmund Blake¹ that went with him, upon the Earnest sollicitation, & request of his friends here (who pretend that he is detained against his will) Wee doe order that he may have free Liberty to come home; if he pleaseth, but if he stayes by any new agreement with the Governr. let him send home an Instrument under his hand of such his agreement & voluntary stay by his owne free Consent and desire.

Mr. Sinclar and Mr. Verner (who gott home from Canada this yeare through France) come both to you in our Service, & being both well experienced in our affaires & trade, tho' we could not assigne them a particular Post yet we know they will be of a great advantage to our Interest & help to you, & we doe accordinly recommend them to your favour & Care to make them as usefull to Our Service as you can, & wee doe appoynt them both to be admitted of your Councell. Wee take notice also of Mr. Jno. Bennet & that his time is this year Expired, & wee are very glad to see the good Character & recommendation you give of him, Our expectation of him was noe lesse, & for his readinesse to continue longer in our Service, wee must confesse he deserves Encouragement & therefore we have ordered him a gratuity of Twenty pounds, & because you can best Judge what hee is most capable of & the oppertunities that there will be to preferre him, Wee doe Leave it to you to dispose of him to his Content in our Service & to make such new agreement with him as you shall thinke resonable or otherwise to referre himselfe to Our Favour & Pleasure if he thinks fitt, And what with the fullnesse and encrease of our trade from year to year & the severall new Settlements which you see we designe (and may have our old

¹ Edmund Blake, cooper, apparently returned after one year's service in Hudson Bay (A.1/13, fo. 13; B.239/d/3 and 4).

ones Wee hope in time Restor'd) Wee doe not doubt but there will bee Employments Enough to gratifie all Our Faithfull and Industrious Servants.

Tho' wee have reason to wish well to and hope for the yearly encrease of our trade, yet wee conceive that what wee sent you last yeare, and complying fully with your Indent this yeare, you are soe extraordinarily furnished with all sorts of trading goods & provisions too, that wee doe not expect any materiall demande from you by these Shippes for the yeare ensuing, but to have some respite and breathing time from our excessive charge outwards by reason of the danger & dearnessse of Goods this time of Warre, and the incredible Lownesse of Beavor here for want of Vent & a free Trade, which wee assure you run's us behind hand & very much in debt soe that as wee have allready inculcated our desire that you bee a great Husband of all things for fear of the worst accidents, soe wee must recommend it to you againe, & particularly to be spareing in your Flints (tho' it seemes a very small thing) and in your brandy, they being both French Commodities and hard to come by.

*Sufficiently
furnished with
Goods &c.*

*expect no want
this Ship time*

God sending our shippes in safety to you, Our Pleasure is that Capt. Edgcombe & Capt. Young during their stay there be Both of your Councell, & that all Our officers & Servants there doe treat them as Persons for whom Wee have noe small esteeme upon the account of their haveing been happy & prosperous in their Voyages & our service. And if it should please God that your Factory bee in danger or the Enemy Lodged too neere you, Wee doe not doubt but they will follow such necessary orders as by the advice of your Councell you shall give them for your better Security according to such instructions as they have received from us here, Copies whereof you will receive together with this Paquet. But if things are quiet & peaceable with you & noe Prospect of an enemy, in such Case Wee enjoyne you to give them what dispatch you can back againe with safety to our Place & Concerne there & their homeward Voyage, & alltho' Capt. Young in the *Loyallty* an hired Shipp bee Oblidged by his Charter party to stay (if you shall thinke fitt) to the 15th of

*Captain to be of
the Council*

they to Assist you

*to dispatch them
for England*

Septmr. & not Longer, yet wee desire you as your Circumstances shall stand to dispatch him by the 10th or sooner if you can, & that he depart away with Capt. Edgcombe, with a charge to them both to keep Company together as farre as Wind & weather will permitt them.

Wee doe not know any thing further materiall or necesary but some few things which we shall add in our postscript to this Letter, Wee Recommend you to God's gracious protection & Remayne

Your very Loving Friends¹

MARLEBOROUGH Governour
SR. EDW. DERING Dept. Governr.
JOHN PERRY² ESQR.

Hudsons Bay House
the 21th May 1691

FRAN. TYSSEN³ ESQR.
MR. SAMUELL CLARKE
MR. THO. PITTS
MR. SAMUELL CUDWORTH
MR. EDW. WEST
MR. JOHN SMYTH⁴

¹ For the names of the men elected in November 1690 to serve for one year as Governor, Deputy Governor and on the Committee, see Appendix A, p. 307.

² The signature in the Company's "Books of Assignments" is "John Pery". John Pery of Blackheath, Kent, was a stockholder from 1690 until his death. He was elected to the Committee in November of 1690 and 1691. He was re-elected in November 1694 and in each following November until 1731. The last Committee he appears to have attended was on January 19, 1732.

³ Francis Tyssen, junior. References to him will be found in *H.B.S.*, VIII and IX. Francis Tyssen of Shackelwell in the parish of St. John, Hackney, county Middlesex, was born about 1653. He was appointed Agent for the county of Albemarle in the Province of Carolina in 1680; an Elder of the Protestant Dutch Church in 1686; a Deputy Lieutenant of the county of Middlesex in 1702; and Sheriff of Huntingdon in 1707. He died in 1710. For a detailed genealogical table showing his descent from Francis Tyssen "Of Ghent in Flanders, after of Flushing in Zealand", see Robinson, *History and Antiquities of Hackney*, I, 322. Francis Tyssen, junior, held Hudson's Bay Company stock from November 1681 to January 1685; May 1686 to January 1687; and from May 1690 to September 1699. Tyssen was elected to the Committee in November 1690 and held office for one year.

⁴ The signature is "John Smith" in the Company's "Books of Assignments". John Smith of London, Scrivener, held varying amounts of Hudson's Bay Company stock from May 1690 until he became bankrupt in 1696. The

Postscript

As to a Commander for the *Albemarle* (which you desire us to thinke of) Wee hope Mr. Jones¹ will be Content to stay one yeare more; for he will not find soe quiet & profitable Imployments here in England, & wee declare in generall that wee shall take it kindly of every one that shall voluntarily stay in our Service this time of perill when they are free, & in due time shall extend our Favour to all such. But if Mr. Jones will notwithstanding returne home this Voyage, Wee must Leave it to you & your Councell to pitch upon some sufficient man that understands the Countrey to Command the *Albemarle* with the same Sallary, which advise us of by the returne of our shipp. Wee had designed you some more Brazill Tobacco, & had writt for it ever since Novemr. Last to Portugall, & have advise allsoe that it was Shipp'd long enough agoe to have been here, but it is not yet arrived soe that wee are disappointed of that, but having sent you a good Quantity of it the last yeare, Wee hope there can bee noe want for One Yeares Trade more.

to engage Mr. Jones to Stay to Commd. the Albemarl

if not you & Council to provide a fit pson

disappointed sending Brazil Tobacco

Wee send you inclosed a List of such new Servants as come to you by these shipp, there names & trades & times Contracted for; wee wish they had been more, but we have spared noe Cost nor paines to get them & after all our trouble some we have lost pressed away after they have entred into Contract with us, soe difficult it is in these times to gett them or keep them, Amongst them is one Mr. Tho. Gilpin,² hee hath lived in the bottome of the Bay Severall yeares, is related to Mr. Knight³ who was Deputy Governor there, & hath Fourescore

List Servants now Sent

Tho. Gilpin Sent & recommended

Company refused to allow Smith's balance of £554 stock to be transferred "but by due course of Law" (A.1/19, fo. 6) and this amount stood to his credit at his death some time before September 1713. Smith was elected to the Committee in November 1690 and re-elected in the following five years.

¹ John Jones. He returned to England in 1691 (A.15/3, fo. 199; B.239/d/3, 4, 5).

² Thomas Gilpin joined the Company in 1682 and at the end of his three years' contract in 1685 he returned to London from Charlton Island in the *Owner's Goodwill* (H.B.S., VIII, 184 and A.15/3, fo. 45). Presumably Gilpin Island (see p. 202, n. 2, and p. 228) was named after him.

³ James Knight. See p. 144. Earlier references to him will be found in H.B.S., VIII, IX, and XI. See also Kenney, *Founding of Churchill*.

*to give the Oath
of Fidelity to all
Servts.*

*Management of
the Council*

*Signals given the
Captains*

*to send Signals
for next year*

*Servants to wait
Vacancies for
prefermt.*

*not displace a
diligent Servant*

*Servts. & Cask
Sent to Settle
Whale Fishery*

pounds a yeare Land here, & yet comes upon very resonable wages, On all which wee desire you to shew him respect and Looke upon him as you find him capable & deserveing. And our Pleasure is that you administer the Oath of fidelity to the Company to every Servant & Person there that hath not taken it before us here in England, according to the forme of the Oath¹ which wee send you herewith, which if you thinke best you may administer the next Councell you shall call after the departure of our Shipps to avoid Hurry & disturbance of Businesse. And as you have a power to call whom you shall thinke fitting to be of your Councell, soe wee doe also thinke it Convenient and doe hereby impower you to dismissee any from your Councell againe (tho' named from hence) when you together with the Majority of your Councell by Voate shall thinke it Just & reasonable & for our Service.

Wee have given to both the Captaines in Secrett the Signall you desired Wee should order them to make at their entring into the mouth of the River; And if you send us a Signall to be made in the next yeares expedition; Wee desire you to write it apart in a paper by it selfe Inclosed in the generall Letter, that soe our deputy Governr. opening the Letters first may reserve it privately (as is resonable) & it may [not] be exposed to Publick view & knowledge.

Whoever Wee have recommended to you as Mr. Sinclair & Verner &c. to be putt into imployments when they shall fall out, Our meaning is & it is our pleasure that they patiently attend the Oppertunities & submitt to your Judgment in the preferring of any of any of them, & wee will not that any man bee displaced that hath behaved himselfe well to Advance another, which would be unjust & a discouragement to all our Servants Lett this be your Generall Rule & Equall Behaviour to all Persons.

And as wee have provided Caske & wee hope hands Enough for your settling the Whale Fishery which wee have great expectation of Soe wee have allsoe sent you 2 new Shallops in frames for that purpose viz. One by Capt. Edgcombe & the other by Capt. Young both which wee would have you sett

¹ See p. 134.

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togeather before our shipps come away from thence, Capt. Edgcombe haveing Likewise 6 or seaven seamen men above his Compliment of Three score, wee were unwilling to discharge them by reason severall of them or some of the others wee believe will be willing to stay in the Country with you. but should any desire it wee would have you make a new Contract with them & for as Long time as you thinke fitting & at such Resonable wages as you can posible bring them to wch. agrements wee would have you send us by the returne of our shipps.

*Some of Capt.
Edgcombs Seamen
to stay in the
Country*

*to agree with.
them on as easy
Terms &c.*

With one packet you will find Inclosed a Coppy of Capt. Youngs Charter Party with the Compa, which wee would have you Likewise peruse & give us an accompt how he hath Complied with it, both as to the number of his men and other matters Relateing to his agreement with the Compa.; thus Comitting you againe to the protection of the Almighty wee Remaine

*Charter party
with. Capt.
Young*

Your Very Lo. Friends
EDW. DERING Dept. Governr.
JOHN PERRY
SAMUELL CLARKE
JOHN SMITH
EDW. WEST

Gravesend the 28th May 1691

A Particular Letter to Governr. Geyer
Governr. Geyer

What wee Conceived Necessary in answer to yours the Last year by our shipps & in reference to our trade, you will receive more at Large in our Generall Letter of this same date to be communicated to your Councill. Butt it being a very tender point to us the Preservation of Port Nelson in this dangerous time, & our whole dependance therein being upon your Conduct & Courage, Wee have thought fitt to give you our Sentiments upon that Subject in a private Letter apart; that none may be discouraged because wee preferre you & your

*dependance on
your Conduct*

*Considerations
referrd.*

experience before all the rest, nor any factions be raised by some aspiring Spiritts when they shall see a wavering between Our desires for you to stay & your owne Inclinations to come home. That you might therefore ponder by your selfe (or at least butt with one or two particular friends) the motives wee shall lay downe to perswade your stay & the Obligations you will putt upon us by soe doing; wee have addressed these lines in the first place to your private View and Consideration, that if upon serious weighing Our desires you shall instantly fixe in a Resolution to stay One yeare more, the whole Factory will be soe much the more encouraged in their respective duties & severall stations to see your steadinesse in abiding in our Service. And in the first place wee are Confident your owne Zeale & wishes to the Wellfare of this Company is such that in a time of apparent danger you would not desert our Service When your owne Honour as well as the Oblidging us doth call for your stay & you will scorne to leave that Government enviroind with dangers which you enterd upon in Peace & Tranquillity: you will heare from all that come to you by these shippes as well as from Our Penn the heate & Violence of the Warre here in Europe, That Our Glorious King is in the Field Himselfe; that neither Land nor Sea in any Countrey is free from the noise & sad effects of Warre, & then you know that an enraged & subtill Enemy is round about you there, seeking how to devoure Our Last & best Stake Left of Port Nelson, soe that when you consider it you will find it as dangerous to come home as to stay there; But much more dishonourable. Besides wee must putt you in minde that you have & act in your name under the Royall Commission of our Most Excellent King William to whom your Honour & Reputation will be accountable for that Last Possession of his Territories in that Part of America, and this alone wee know would be Sufficient to Invigorate your Resolution & Courage. Wee know not what this Sumer may produce, & wee hope God will blesse our Fleets at Sea & our Armes both at home & abroad, & then it is likely better Termes may be had of the Proud Enemy, & those Trusts may bee delivered up to a successour which cannot now be abandoned without dishonour.

Tho' wee shall have severall of our old Servants with you when these Shipps arrive & our Factory perhaps very well mann'd, yet there is none wee putt soe Intire a Confidence in as your selfe, and in a time of Warre & distraction Wee have Cause to feare what Effects an Innovation & Change of Government may have amoungst our Owne Servants, whilst a continuance of the same in such a Juncture is allwaies most safe & Prudent.

*Intire Confidence
in you*

*Bad Effect
change of
Governor*

Our Trade allso both at Port Nelson & in the New designed Settlements must needs suffer by an alteration of Government at this time, when not only Unity in our Factories is most requisite, but we have also need for such Worke of double heads & Hands & Hearts & more United Councills. In short for the sake of all our Our Concearns that wee apprehend are at stake, for your Owne Sake, & the Honour of our Nation in us & you, Wee desire & recommend your stay for one yeare longer & that you will Oblidge your Selfe & us in that resolution; And for your further encouragement Wee have unanimously ordered you another Gratuity of One hundred pounds for the Last years good Service, which shall be paid to Mr. Kingston your attorney if you direct it, as wee have done the other Gratuity wee gave you One the former yeare.

*desire you to
Continue*

Thus not doubting your hearty & ready Concurrence with our desires, which Wee have Chosen to request & make a kindnesse to Our Selves rather than to Command, Wee Commend you heartily & all your affaires to the Protection of the Allmighty & remaine

*hopes of your
concurrence*

Your very Loving Friends
MARLEBOROUGH Governr.
EDW. DERING Dept. Governr.
JOHN PERRY
FRAN. TYSEN
SAMUELL CLARKE
THOMAS PITTS
SAMUELL CUDWORTH
EDWARD WEST
JOHN SMYTH

Hudsons Bay House
the 21th May 1691

Mr. Thos. Walsh

*yr. 2 Letters
Reced.*

*Blowing up New
Severn Factory*

*if Indians come
to Port Nelson to
use them well*

*inform your Self
by them the State
of the French*

By our Shippes happy arrivall In Octobr. Last Wee recd. both yours of the 12 August from New Severne & that of the 7th Septmr. from Yorke Fort 1690 & are Sencible of your Care in the managemt. of our affaires at New Severne in the trade there, & doubt not but had you had A peaceable enjoymt. of that place wee should have found the good effects of it. But that yours of the 7th Septmr. brings us the News of your safe arrivall at Yorke Fort as allso an account at Large of the whole transaction of your Leaving and Blowing up of that Factory & Fort, & observe even in those few hands we left with you, one (& that Rich. Williams¹ by name proved A Traytor) who In due time may receive his Just reward, & are glad the Indian Boy came time enough to give you warning of the Enemy being upon the coast & we both commend our Governor Geyer in giveing you the Order & your resolution in puting it in Execution in destroying all that you Could since soe imp for you to keepe it but were sorry you mett with that danger and Hardship in your Journey to Hayes River, Wee hope by Reason of the nearness of that place to Port Nelson, & the Ill usage the Indians will find from the French, will Induce them to follow you thither & twill be your discretion if any of them doe come to treat them with all Kindness Imaginable & assure them of good wares cheaper then the French can give them, & if they prove true to you they will informe you the state of that place now in the French hands & whether they remained there. wee Expect at this returne of our Shippes to here.

¹ According to a petition presented to the Queen on October 1, 1691 (A.9/4, fo. 16-16d., and *Acts of the Privy Council* (Colonial Series), 1680-1720, p. 119), a Richard Williams was held prisoner by the French at La Rochelle. His name was listed with some of the Company's men who had been taken prisoners by the French at Albany in 1688-89. These men had been sent by canoe to Canada in 1689 (see p. 83), and afterwards to France. The men who were with Walsh at New Severn before he abandoned the fort in August 1690 were, with the exception of Richard Williams, listed in the York Fort accounts (B.239/d/3) for 1690-91. Williams was apparently taken to France in the French ship *Saint-François-Xavier* in the summer of 1690. See Crouse, *Lemoyne d'Iberville*, pp. 65-6.

As for the Gratuity wee bestowed upon you according to your desire wee shall keepe it safe in our hands till your occations withdraws it & could wish the rest of our people there would doe the like rather then to haszard there wages by ordering some to receive it who have put them to much trouble and Charge in recovering it & some totally lost, but that wee referre to them having A power Over there owne yet it much displeaseth us to see our Servants soe wronged Especially such of them that have been dilligent & faithfull in our Service.

*Your Gratuity
shall remain with
us*

And now since you are come to our Factory at Port Nelson, we doubt not of your care & industrie as well in improveing our trade there as also in the secureing the Factory under Governor Geyer, wch. wee farther recommend to you, assuring you wee shall not Leave the least meritorious action Tho' in the meanest of our Servants unrewarded.

*doubt not your
Care*

You will see by our Generall Letter to Governor Geyer & the Councell that wee have Ordered you to continue Deputy Governor under him at the same Salary of Fifty pounds p. annum which you had at New Severne.

*to Continue
Second*

And tho' you encourage us that wee shall not find this present yeare's Cargo Three Hundred Beavors the lesse for the Losse of New Severne, yet whether it be for our Interest to endeavor the regaining of it & when most Seasonable to doe it, Wee have Left it to the Consideration of the Govr. with his Councell, allwaies with regard to the safety of Port Nelson, which we will not have you weaken soe as to putt the Place & your selves in Danger for any advantage whatever Yet we are Sensible that if the French Settle at New Severne & rebuild it & fortifie it they will be very ill & troublesome Neighbours to you, & by their French tricks & lying wheedlings with the Indians very much Intercept your trade, but we hope they were necessitated to desert it & will not be able to returne thither.¹ Learne what Information you can of there proceedings, & of their Condition in the Bottome of the Bay for wee Conceive

*the regaining
New Severn
Submitted to
Govr. & Council*

*not to Risk Port
Nelson*

*get Informacion
of French
proceeding at
Bottom of the Bay*

¹ Neither the name of the French commander nor the names of his ships can be established from the Company's surviving archives. For the subsequent movements of the French ships see Crouse, *Lemoyne d'Iberville*, pp. 65-6.

they must have been much straitned there upon all accounts for want of provisions & trade too, since what they sufferd at Canada by Sr. Wm. Phipps his Invation from New England, which disabled them from Sending reliefe or Supplys to them.

*good Opinion of
your Fidelity*

Alltho' you were forced to desert New Severne & the Capacity of promoting Our trade there for the Present, yett we have A Just sense & value of your fidelity in having discharged your Trust as well as any man could have done in those Circumstances the Place then stood, & considering the Trade Wee received thence the last year by your managemt. & the good conduct you Showed in the utmost extremity, together with the hazard you did runn in Our Service, & private Losses which must necessarily have ensued to you, Wee would not be wanting in a due encouragement & to Consider you as much as if you were still in that Station, & therefore we have unanimously ordered you A gratuity of Sixty pounds for this last yeare, which together with the former Fifty pounds wee gave you, shall be paid as you direct when you thinke fitting.

Gratuity

*to exert your
Self*

And since Fortune hath drove you back to Port Nelson wee doe not doubt but you will exert your utmost skill & Industry to promote & encrease Our Trade there, to gaine & oblige the Indians to us from the French, to helpe Manage the Factory well, & in all things to make the Government Easy to Governor Geyer, whose Experience is such, & Our Confidence in his Courage & fidelity soe great that wee Cannot be without him in this perillous time of Warre, & therefore have earnestly entreated him to stay one yeare more, to which wee desire you to adde all the motives & arguments you Can, for wee have need of an encrease of Faithfull & Experienced Servants, & of Double assistance in this hazardous Juncture.

*ease & Assist
the Govr.*

Thus praying to God to Send Our Shipps safe to you, & desireing to receive your full thoughts of our Trade & other affaires there, Wee Committ you & all our Concearns to God's Gracious Protection & Remaine

Your very Loving Friends

MARLEBOROUGH Govnr.

EDWARD DERING Dept. Govr.

MAY 22, 1691

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JOHN PERRY
FRAN. TYSEN
SAMUELL CLARKE
THOS. PITTS
SAM. CUDWORTH
EDW. WEST
JOHN SMITH

Hudsons Bay House
the 21th May 1691

Saileing Orders or Instructions to
Capt. Leonard Edgcombe

In the first place wee recommend to you, that Publick Prayers be read on board your Shipp morning & Evening from which wee may hope & expect a Blessing from Almighty God, & if you use the prayers of Our Church wee thinke you make a very good choyce, & that you keep good Order & decorum aboard your shipp encourageing all to Sobriety & a strickt observance of the Lords day not doubting your good Example the which will be very Induceing to the rest to follow.

Prayers to be used

Sobriety

When you come to Gravesend & are cleard there & have reced. your dispatches, you are to take the oportunity of the first fair wind that offers to Sayle the *Royall Hudsons Bay* Friggtt. under your Command for your Fort in Hayes River in Hudsons Bay: requireing you possitively In your outward Bound Voyage to shape your corse northward round Scotland, & not downe the Channell And that you doe use all endeavours possible as farr as winde & weather will pmitt, (the whole voyage out & home) to keepe Compa. with the Shipp *Loyalty* Capt. James Young Commander, & to be ready & willing upon all occations and accidents that may happen to helpe & assist him as wee have laid our Injunctiōe & Command upon him to doe the like to you, And when it shall please God you arrive in Hayes River aforesaid you goe up the River as high as you conveniently can for your better unloading the Shipp. And deliver to Capt. Geo. Geyer or the cheife factor there all such goods stores provisions &c. as contained in your bill of

to sail to York Fort

North about out

to keep Compy. with Consort

to deliver Cargo

Loading for which his receipt Shall bee your discharge for the Same.

*If French in
possession*

*to endeavour to
regain*

*to receive on
Board Cargo
home*

*keep Company
with. Consort*

*to Seize Enemies
or Interlopers*

*Capt. Edgcomb
Commodr.*

In case upon your arrivall neare the Fort aforesaid you shall come to know that the French have surprized or seized any of our men Shippes or Factory, or invaded any of our rights & Territories, Wee hope & Expect you will Exert your wonted Courage & Conduct in regaining the Same & Settling them in quiet possession In all your Transactions there wee doubt not of your prudent & faithfull managemt. that it may redound to the Honour of our Nation the Advantage & Wellfare of the Company & your owne praise And reputation.

When you have made a due delivery of your outward bound Cargo at Yorke Fort you are to receive into your Shipp all such Beavers Furrs and other goods whatsoever our Governor or cheife Factor there shall reloaded on board your said shipp, & haveing stowed them well away & the dayes apoynted for your stay there Elapsed, you are to depart Hayes River in Compa. with the *Loyalty* Capt. James Young Commander & the *Prosperous* if the Councell designe her home this yeare keeping them Compa. or if the *Loyalty* alone be ordered to come home with you to keepe her Company as far as in You lyeth to doe. But in your homeward Bound voyage being wee Cannot know how early or how Late you may come thence, wee leave it wholly to your Choyce to come north about Or thorow the Chanell.

If in your Outward or homeward bound voyage you meete with any Shippes within Hudsons Streights, trading or intending to trade, whether sayled by his Maties. Subjects or strangers not being in the Compa. Employ Wee Doe by these presents by vertue of our Charter prohibiting all such Interlops. & Traders Confirm'd by Act of parliamt. require & authorise you to Seize them as Lawfull prize & to bring them without Imbezilment of the goods with you for England, In Order of proceeding against them by Law as in such cases requisite.

And In regard Order & Unity are chiefly necessary to promote & prosper any undertakeing, Wee doe appoint you Capt. Leonard Edgcombe Commander of our Shipp *The Royall Hudson Bay* Frigat to be Chiefe or Admirall in this Voyage or Expedition both Outward & homeward bound

from Hudson Bay, & that Capt. James Young Commander of the Shipp *Loyalty* doe concurre in & follow such Rules & orders both in Saileing & other matters relating to our Service, as you together with the said Capt. Young & the Advice of the Principall Officers of both Your shippes shall agree upon & sett downe in Writing Under your Hands. But when you shall be within the Verge & Command of our Factory in Hayes River neere Port Nelson, Wee enjoyne you then to Follow, Obey & Execute all such Orders & Commands as our Governor there with the Advice of his Councell shall give you in charge for Our Service during your stay there. Soe heartily praying for your Prosperous Voyage & safe Returne to us Wee Rest

*other Ships to
observe yr.
orders*

*at the Factory to
be Subordinate to
Cheif & Council*

Your Loving Friends
MARLEBOROUGH Governor
EDW. DERING Dept. Govnr.
JOHN PERRY
FRAN. TYSEN
SAMUELL CLARKE
THOS. PITTS
SAMUELL CUDWORTH
EDW. WEST
JOHN SMITH

Hudsons Bay House
The 22th May 1691

Postscript

Lastly wee doe enjoyne & Command you Capt. Leonard Edgcombe to proceede in this voyage cheerfully & friendly with Capt. James Young, in all things maintaining a kind correspondency with him to the Common Intrest & advantage of Our Service, as wee have enjoyed him to doe the like with you, Assureing you that; if we find our Interest prejudiced by any private heates & diffences betweene you, Wee shall upon Examination lay the fault at the right dore & resent it accordingly, as on the other side Wee shall be ready to acknowledge & gratefie any meritorious Services rendred to us by either or both of you.

*friendship with
the Captains
ordered*

The Like Instructions for Capt. James Young

The Oath to bee taken by all the Company's Servants,
that have not taken it in England.

I: A: B: doe sweare to be good & true to our Sovereigne Lord & Lady King William & Queen Mary, And that I will bee faithfull & Just to the Right Honble. The Governor & Company of Adventures of England trading into Hudsons Bay, I will be respectfull & Obedient to their Governor & his Deputy for the time being Residing in these Parts, their Orders & Commands I will Obey, & to the utmost of my Power defend the said Compas. Rights & Interest against all Opposers whatsoever Their Instructions & Orders for the management of Their Trade I will follow. And during a Joynt Stocke of the said Compa. (now established by Act of Parliament) I will neither directly nor Indirectly Trade to or from any Place within the Limits of their Charter for my Owne particuler Account or for any other Person or Persons, Save only for the said Compa. in any Furrs, skins, or other Commodities whatsoever with the Indians or with any Nation inhabiting or trading about Hudsons Bay without the Expresse Leave of the said Compa. Any Persons that shall drive any such private or Seperate trade I will endeavor to hinder, their names I will detect, the Commodities soe traded for I will discover as much as In me lies to the Governour or his Deputy upon the Place I will promote the Interest & Proffits of the said Company to the best of my skill and Endeavours.

Soe Helpe me God

A Letter to Governor Geyer & the Rest of the Councell at
Yorke Forte in Hayes River in Hudsons Bay

We received your Letter dated the 12 September Last p. Capt. Edgcomb & Capt. Young, who with Capt. Grimington, arrived at Plimouth the 17 October last & afterwards with us in safety, by which we gladly understood the good Condition they left you in, & that you have been soe dilligent & Industrious in fortifying your Factory as we directed you, that you doe not now fear any attempt wch. may be made upon you, We are in continuall care & fear for you during this Warre, & therefore we spare for noe charge for your support and preservation, & yet not doubting if the french should forme another designe against you, but you would behave your selves like true English men & worthy of that trust & Commission wch. you beare.

*Yr. Letter
Received*

*glad to find your
Factory so
Defensible*

*dependance on
yr. Bravery*

And that we may not only maintaine Our Interest & encourage our Trade at Port Nelson; but alsoe recover Our rights in the Bottome of the Bay, Wee have this Year Entred upon a very great Charge & once more (Under God's Blessing) Undertaken an expedition for the bottome of the Bay, with a full resolution to recover our rights there, And this we trust is better grounded & under the conduct of wiser & honester Heads then such as Capt. Bond & Governor Marsh, We having pitched upon Mr. James Knight for Governour in the Bottome of the Bay, an Honest & a discreet man from whose Prudent management Wee promise Ourselves great Successe not only in reestablishing Our properties but in settling in those parts againe a lasting & flourishing trade. It is with great difficulty that we have been able to sett out soe chargeable an Expedition both in respect of the shippes it required, & for the procuring of Seamen at this Juncture, when our navy Royall was not only put to Sea but also ready to engage the Enemy, which God be praised they have already done with that magnanimity & successe that we have obtained the most compleat & remarkable Victory Over the French Fleet that Ever was gott at Sea, We burnt & tooke 23 or 24 of their best & Capitall shippes, & when the Admirall of

*Maintain Port
Nelson*

*to endeavour to
Recover the
bottom of the Bay*

*Mr. Knight
appointd. Govr.
Bottom Bay*

Hopes in him

*Expensive
undertaking*

*Victory over the
French by our
Men Warr*

France fairely run away & gott into a Creeke amongst Rocks & shelves, & Mounsr. Turville the Admirall himselfe was gott on shore, Our undanted Seamen went in with Boates & fire works & burnt the *Royall Sunne* (She was the Admirall called) & the Vice Admirall of France & 4 or 5 great shipp more, in the sight of Mounsr. Tourville who had the pleasure to stand upon the shore & see his Shipp burne, which was one of the bravest actions done by True English Sea men that perhaps was ever known in any age. But we will not pretend to give you all the perticulers of this Glorious Action;¹ but leave you to learne the whole from such as shall come to you by our ships & some Prints wch. we shall send you: From hence we doubt not but the French have had a cooling tast of the English valour, & will not be able to appeare with any formidable Navy at Sea againe for some time, & this Example wee hope alsoe will inspire Courage & a vigorous Emulation in all true English hearts in Your parts if there shall be need to try them against that perfidious Nation the French; wee will ad but one word more upon this Occation, That this great acction was performed without the loss of One Shipp of Ours and but of Two Commission Officers.

*distress the
French by sea*

*inconsiderable
Loss of English*

*Protections
obtained*

four Ships Sent

To returne to our businesse, having at last obtained from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty Protections for the full Complement of our Seamen; God granting our Ships to arrive with you in Safety; you will receive from us Four shipp vizt. The *Dering*² Frigatt (a brave new ship) Capt. Leonard Edgcombe Commander, The *Royall Hudson bay* Frigatt Capt. Michael Grimington, Commander, The *Pery*³

¹ The naval battle of La Hogue which lasted for five days over a wide extent of sea and shore and ended in the Bay of La Hogue on May 24, 1692.

² This "brave new ship", referred to herein as *Dering* [III], was of about two hundred and sixty tons burden and was bought from Thomas Ellis of Steyning, Sussex, for £2,041. 12s. 0d. in April 1692.

³ On March 30, 1692, Captain Grimington reported that he had seen the ship *Ephram and Jane*, of about one hundred tons burden in Billingsgate Dock and that she was suitable for the Company's service. The vessel was bought in the following month for £680, and on May 4, 1692, the Committee ordered that she should be called the *Pery*, presumably after John Pery, who became a member of the Committee in November 1690. (A.1/14, fos. 13, 14, 16d.).

Frigatt Cha. Cotsworth¹ Commander, & the *Prosperous*² Pinke as a Fire Ship Capt. Hen. Bayly³ Commander, Wee designe all of them (if Govenor Knight think's fitting) Excepting Capt. Edgcombe for the bottome of the Bay, tho' they will all touch at Your Fort in Hayes River, where if it please God to send them, We require you to give Govenor Knight all the assistance & dispatch you can possible Suitable to his designe, and alsoe to give him what men he shall think fitting for his purpose to goe along with him & you Can possibly spare, which we reckon you can the easier doe because we doe not conceive your Place to be in any danger, & we Suppose that Mounsr. hath had a Cooling Care here in Europe from projecting any great attempts in America: if it please God to send him safe to you Govenor Knight hath a desire to take Mr. Sinclare with him to be his deputy at the Bottome of the Bay wch. we approve of & desire he will comply with him in it; knowing that Mr. Sinclare hath had great experience in Our affaires & can promote our trade better then most men, & accordingly we shall give him the encouragemt. wch. men have had before in that Station hoping he will looke upon it also as a marke of our Favour to preferre him to it.

3 of them
designed to
Bottom Bay

Sutabley Assist
Govr. Knight

Mr. Sinclar to be
Deputy to Mr.
Knight

Dependance on
him

Tho' Wee furnished you very amply both with Goods & Provisions the Last Yeare, yet we have tooke care to answer your Indent⁴ to the full this yeare also, hoping & Expecting a

Indent fully
complyd with

¹ "Charles Cotesworth" (as he signed his name) remained in command of the *Pery* until 1694 when he brought the *Prosperous* back to England. In November of that year he obtained leave to go to Newcastle for a month or six weeks (A.1/16, fo. 30), and on his return he resumed command of the *Prosperous*. A disagreement with the Committee about the gratuity due to him and the amount of his future wages led to his discharge from the Company's service in June 1695 (A.1/17, fo. 13-13d.).

² On June 20, 1692, the Committee ordered that "the fier workes" aboard the *Prosperous* should "bee Removed & Stowed Close" in order to make room for the cargo which could not be accommodated aboard the other ships. The *Prosperous* was thus "Incapasited to act as a fier shipp outward Bound" (A.1/14, fo. 20d.).

³ Henry Baley (Bayly, Bayley) was formerly "Cheife mate to Capt. Edgcombe" (A.1/14, fo. 13d.).

⁴ Copies of the invoices of the 1692 shipments to York Fort and the Bottom of the Bay (Albany) in *Dering* [III], the *Royal Hudson's Bay*, the *Pery* and the *Prosperous* are in A.24/1, fos. 86-98.

*expect Large
Trade*

*care in Sending
the best Sort
Goods*

*to content
Indians*

*to endeavour to
find out any new
Commodities to
send us*

*further Whale
Fishing*

*encourage Indians
to bring
Castorum*

*Drugs Minerals
&c. encouragemt
for finding teeth
Sea Horse Teeth*

*Indian Paint
mentiond in
Journal
what it is*

large Trade now as you give us encouragemt. to doe; Wee tooke due notice of what you writt last Yeare concerning Our goods, & have tooke the best care wee could that all complaints should be avoided both in our Guns & in every thing else. Tho' our charge be excessive in this time of Warr, it was resonable in us to desire that the Indians might be made Sensible of it, and that the Standard of Trade Might be something advanced, Yet we referre that to your discretion, & *would by noe means have the Indians discontented* hoping to recover our present loosing trade when it shall please God to send A happy & generall Peace In Europe. As we doe not doubt but Henery Kellsey¹ hath done us good Service in going up to the remote Indians, & that we shall finde the effect of it this Yeare, Soe we desire you Likewise to continew your dilligence in *promoting & finding out other trades as well as the Beavor trade; & as you have made a good begining in the whale Fishing soe we would have you prosecute that to the Utmost, the trade alsoe of the Castorum is not soe inconsiderable as phaps you thinke it, & therefore pray encourage the Indians to it as much as possible, & shew them what a trade and advantage it brings to them which before they neglected & flung away, & if they will minde their owne Interest Wee are confident Wee might have 4 or 5000 lb. of Castorum every yeare. Then we doubt not but there are severall Druggs & mineralls if you inquire into them & give some encouragemtt. for discoveries wch. we would be willing to doe, allso Sea Horse Teeth may be an Excellent Commodity; & we are Informed there are great plenty of them in Some places. There is a Box of Indian paint mentioned in Capt. Edgcombes Journall, wch. we never Received, We desire to be informed of it. One Mr. Hurluck being the master of Edward Stacey² now with you, desires us not to suffer him to Draw Bills upon the Compa. for that his master expects to be first satisfied, We must require allso in*

¹ Geyer replied on September 9, 1692, "Henry Kelsey came down with a good Fleet of *Indians*; and hath travelled and endeavoured to keep the Peace among them, according to my Order" (*Parliamentary Report*, 1749, p. 275).

² Edward Stacey, seaman, who apparently first went to Hudson Bay in 1688. He returned to England in 1695 (p. 238; A.15/3, fo. 163; A.15/4, fo. 90).

Generall that you doe not pmitt any Bills to be drawne on the Compa. by such as are newly arrived with you, Because we advanceing to them here before their Outsett, when they are Suffered to draw presently upon their arrivall they many times over run their acctt. & soe we must either not answer their Bills or may Come by the Losse. Wee have sent by Capt. Edgecombe 4000 peeces of Beefe & 2000 peeces of Porke but cutt Larger then Ordinary; Soe that you ought to add the more men to A Mess, What Beefe or Porke Capt. Edgecombe can spare; if you thinke you shall have need hee hath Order to deliver you, Good Husbandry is a thing we have soe offten pressd, that we will not urge it further, knowing that your discretion needs not such repeated admonitions, & that you will consider both the danger of the times & the dearness of all things; & when the Season is over keep your men employed in taking Fresh provisions both for your owne refreshments & to hold out the better.

*not permit
Servts. lately
entertaind to
draw Bills on
the Co.*

Beef & Pork Sent

*Good
Husbandry*

*get fresh
provision*

Governor Geyer, we have considered your faithfully Services & indefatigable paines in our Interest, as well as your cheerfull compliance wth. our request to stay an other yeare in this Extraordinary time of danger; & the Consideration on which you doe it, hopeing (as you say) the Warre may be by that time ended, that you may Leave our Concerns there in a peaceable & flourishing Condition & that you would not willingly Leave your Post before you saw them soe settled, is so ingenious & honourable in you, & kind towards us, that we assure you it hath a great influence upon us that know the value of your meritts & how happily Our affaires there have prospered under your Conduct: To Shew our Just sense therefore of your Service & due regards for your Person, after having cleared wth. Mr. Kingston your acctt. upon your Sallary, We have moreover unanimously voted & paid him also for you a Gratuity of One Hundred Pounds, Resolving soe allwaies to discharge Our selves that the Character of a meritorious Servant & Gratefull masters may be reciprocally between us. It is true Wee Cannot write the Warre is Ended or like to be soe by that time Our Shipps returne for England but after the Signall advantage We have had Over the French

*Govrs.
Condesention
Considered*

*your Accot.
Cleared with
Mr. Kingston*

Gratuity

*Hopes on the
King's Success in
Flanders*

*that the French
in Winter will
desire Peace*

*to Stay 1 year
more*

*Approbation in
Mr. Walsh*

*If Successfull in
Europe, Govmt.
will Send a
Squadron to West
Indies*

at Sea; if it shall please God Likewise to Crowne our Glorious King William with an Eminent Victory against the French Army in Flanders, where Our ever renowned King is in person at the Head of 100000: Men (& wch. by the blessing of God Wee hope to heare every day) then though there may be more worke to doe this Summer, & there is noe doubt but we shall psue our advantages during the Campagne & give them a Visitt even in France it selfe; yet that Arbitrary French King & disturber of all mankind being by the Almighty hand of God by that time sufficiently Humbled, Wee hope in the Winter time, after Action is over shall be glad to seeke a Peace at the hands of Our Victorious King, & the Consultations of that Season (by the mercy of God) Produce a happy & Lasting Peace & repose to all Christendome before the next Summer. Therefore from these Considerations well weighed by your selfe it is we recommend to your thoughts the Expediency of your staying yet a yeare Longer or not; when probably you will have the honour & satisfaction you seeke, of Leaving that Trade which you have enlarged, that Building which you have erected, that Vineyard which you have Planted, in a Peaceable & flourishing Condition, & out of danger of being undermined by the Foxes, or destroyed by the Wild Boares of the Forrest. And this being your owne Generous Inclination & professed to us, Wee will take noe advantage from thence to urge your stay Longer then you shall thinke fitting, only saying this, that if you Continue your Residence there yet a while, Wee must confesse it will be agreable to us, & (such hath been your Conduct amongst them) that we believe allso to the whole Factory there, especially in this Juncture of Publick affaires: Soe that though Wee doe very well approve of Mr. Walsh to be a man Qualified & deserving to succeed you if you determine to returne, yet during the present dangers Wee have need of you both, & united Heads & Hearts will be little enough to preserve us, But we will leave this point with you, & beseech God to direct all for the best. Wee thinke it materiall to acquaint you, that if we proceed with Successe here in Europe, Our Government designes to send a Squadron of men of Warre, to the West Indies to root out the French

out of all their Plantations, not only in the Lee-ward Islands, but in Canada New France New Found Land & other places wch. they make the nursery of their Seamen, And Sr. William Phipps is now gone Governor for New England, & without doubt will forme some designe against them of Canada, in the meane time Wee are not without Reports of some designe forming in France against Port Nelson, & phaps some Renegado English men are in it, for Capt. Bond & some others (tho they have been long in France) are not come home yet, But we have but little apprehension of what they can doe; & we believe you will feare them as little, only care & forecast is good, & if any Apostate Englishmen or French men come into your Custody, keep them safe & send them as Prisoners into England, the French men will serve to Exchange for English Prisoners in France, but for the English that shall be soe taken in a time of Warre fighting against their Owne Countrey, Wee doe not See how they can escape the Guilt of High Treason, & a Halter will be good enough for them. Wee thinke fitt to confirme the power we gave you last year to call whom you shall thinke fitting to your Councell, & to dismisse whom you shall see cause for, being assured from your selfe in your Last Letter that you will use that Power moderately, & take Care not to put it in Execution but upon urgent occations, & on the other side Judging that a Governour at this Distance cannot keep many different tempers in Order, nor make himselfe respected & obeyed without such a Power; Neverthelesse such as we doe appoint from hence to be admitted to your Councell during their being at your Factory, Wee will have soe continued, as Capt. Edgcombe & Grimington, & now Capt. Knight going Governor to the Bottome of the Bay & hath their Maties. Commission with him as well as Ours. And because this Expedition will require many Hands, & we have been hinderd by perpetuall daily attendance here in getting Protections for our Shippes & Seamen from procuring soe many Land men as otherwise we should have done, Our Expresse Will & Pleasure is that for this one yeare you Suffer not one of Our Servants to returne home though wee desire you to recommend it to them in milde

*Reports French
designs on Port
Nelson*

*to Send Prisoners
to England*

*to alter Council
as you find
Necessary*

*Captains to be of
the Council*

*hindered in
getting Servants*

*not to Suffer any
Servts. to return
this year*

tearmes, that the Exigency of Our affaires are such that we cannot spare a man for this yeare, & that for such whose times are Expired we shall take it kindly of them who stay chearfully & willingly in Our Service & not faile to remember them: In the meane time wee require them to be contented with such wages as you or Governour Knight shall thinke resonable to give them, for such as have not a particuler charge or imployment may goe with him, where there will be oppertunity of divers, & if the terms they submitt to shall be found hard, wee doe promise to mend it here according to every ones meritt & behaviour. *Wee Commend your Prudent interposition with the Indians to compose their differences & Warrs one with another, Continue Those good Offices as much as you can, & shew them what desolation & poverty Warre brings, & encourage them to Peace & unity by which they will have a great trade & their famelies live well & easy; Teach them the deceitfullnesse of the French Nation, & make them sensible if you can of the advantages & Victories Wee have gott over them in Europe, that they may more & more have a viler & Lower esteeme for them, & a greater Honour & regard for Our Nation, & if occation offer they may unite & Joyne with us in any designe against the French, who only cheate & abuse them, And by thus ingratiating with them, you will both Increase our Trade & by degrees discover new ones,* both to their advantage & Ours, as in Druggs, Castorum, The Fishery &c. wch. we againe recommend to you to endeavour all the encrease of you Can possibly, For the Castoreum if you encourage the Indians to bring them downe by trading it well with them, Wee cannot conceive why you might not send home Yearely many Thousand Weighte as well as 70 lb. wch. we recd. Last Yeare; for every Beavor they Kill hath them, & consequently wee might have as many Thousand as you send us Beavor skins; & therefore pray demonstrate to the Indians what a mighty encrease of trade this would bring to them, & raise your standard to them in that Commodity; if you see reason even to a $\frac{1}{4}$ part of what you give them for Beavor. The Fishery might be soe increased as to fill our Shippes homeward, wherein you know they bring back a great deale of dead freight, which

shall make them satisfaction

to endeavour to Accomodate the difference between the Indians

the benefits they will reap thereby

to advise them how deceitfull the French are

Increase Trade & discover new

Castorum

Standard for it

to encrease Fishery

we doubt not but you will minde to improve now as much as possible, tho' we are sencible it may be much more Increased when it shall please God to send a Peace, & we shall have more hands & cheaper Druggs & mineralls (as we have said before) wee are Satisfied there are many, therefore pray faile not to send us home this Yeare & Every Yeare Samples of all such as you Can gett, as allso some Turpentine wch. comes from the Trees their, altho' it be but a bottle, wch. we know hath been brought home by some Seamen, & as you see wee are very urgent for the Castoreum & you know we have Long since declared it a Commodity of the Companies, Soe we expect your Care that the Chirurgions of Our Shipps, nor noe body else doe buy it up of the Indians to our Prejudice.

*Drugs Minerals**Turpentine**Surgeons not to
trade the
Castorum*

Whereas wee have sent you a very Large Quantity of Trew French Brandy which we procured with great difficulty our desire is that what you shall not have emediate use for in the Factory to trade either with the Natives or our Servants, as well as Tobacco & this we are obliged to doe, good Brandy being now worth with us 10s. P. Gall.

*Brandy Sent**Trade it wth
Tobacco*

We have alsoe endeavoured to Comply wth. your Indent in every thing except the Beeffe & Porke wch. is as we have said before is Cutt Larger then Ordinary both which as well as trading goods, you will find Shipped on board Capt. Edgcombe & altho' wee have not been able to send an exact Invoice of the Cargoe (being in an hurry) yet in the maine you will find we have not forgott anything materiall, Thus heartily wishing the Arrivall of Our Shipps with you & Committing you to the Devine Protection Wee Remaine

Indent fullfilld

Your Verry Loving Freinds ¹

EDWARD DERING Dept. Govenor

JOHN PERRY

ROBT. LANCASHIRE ²

¹ For the names of the men elected in November 1691 to serve for one year as Governor, Deputy Governor and on the Committee, see Appendix A, p. 308.

² Robert Lancashire of London, merchant, held varying amounts of Hudson's Bay Company stock from October 1691 until July 1696. He again bought stock in February 1701 and held £1,100 at the time of his death. He was elected to the Committee in November of 1691, 1692 and 1693, and was again elected to

ROBT. NICHOLAS¹CHAR. TORIANO²

JOHN SMITH

EDW. WEST

Hudsons Bay House

the 17th June 1692

Postscrip

Govenor Geyer

Signall

When you send p. the next shipping the Signall, Seale it up and write upon it the Signall, & inclose it in the Generall Letter, without being pticularly directed. As to Mr. Bennet in pticular notwithstanding what have been said in the Generall Letter, wee Leave it to you solely whether to Continue him with you or send him home unless Govr. Knight see cause to take him along with him to the Bottome of the Bay.

Instructions for Capt. James Knight, Now going Govr. of the Bottome of the Bay &c. in Hudsons Bay in the North West Parts of America in the Service of the Rt. Honble. The Hudsons Bay Company

Whereas upon the great experience We have had of your Integrity to the Hudson's Bay Compa. for whom we are intrusted, & the good opinion we have of your Courage as well

office in November of 1701, 1702 and 1703. The last meeting he attended appears to have been on July 12, 1704.

¹ Robert Nicholas of London, merchant, held £200 Hudson's Bay Company stock from March 1687 to August 1689. He again became a stockholder in March 1691 and in the following November he was elected to the Committee. He was re-elected in November of the following eight years, and again in November of each year from 1704 to 1719. The last meeting he attended was that held on August 25, 1720, and he died shortly afterwards.

² "Charles Torriano" is the signature in the Company's "Books of Assignments". Torriano held Hudson's Bay Company stock from August 1691 until he sold out in December 1693, and in November of 1691 and 1692 he was elected a Committee Member. In June 1700 he bought £50 stock and held this amount until he finally sold out in July 1720.

as Prudence & Continuall faithfullness upon all occations to the welfare & interest of the said Compa., we have chosen & authorised you to be Govr. & cheife Commander beyond the Sea's for the Hudsons Bay Compa. of all those places in the Bottome of the Bay & of all the Lands & Territories Isles & Forts Seas Bayes Rivers Creeks & Lakes there abouts according to the Commission granted to you under the Common Seale of the said Compa. & Dignified & Confirmed to you by Their Majesties Royall Commission,¹ And whereas upon this Confidence Wee have (under God's Blessing) undertaken an Expedition or Voyage for the Honour of Our Nation & the Recovery of our Just Rights, Which Tho' very Chargeable may prove of as much Reputation to you as Advantage to us, We have Therefore thought fitt in Order to your better Conduct to give you these following Instructions.

In the first place you are to goe on Board the *Royall Hudsons Bay* Frigat Capt. Michael Grimington Commander now bound for Albany River or some other Parts in the Bottome of the Bay, & during this whole Expedition & your Command Wee recomend to you the care of the Service & Honour of God, That Prayers & some part of the Holy Bible be daily read & especially Every Lords Day & that you punish all Dissolute & Prophane Persons.

As soone as it shall please God you Arrive at any Place within the Bottome of the Bay & the bounds of your Government you shall call your men together in some Convenient Place where we require you first in the hearing of them all to Cause your Commission from Their Maties. to be Openly & distinctly read, And after that your Commission in the like manner from the Compa. under Our Publick Seale, After which you shall immediately Proclaime Our Sovereigne Lord & Lady King William & Queen Mary according to the forme of Proclamation delivered to you heere, & afterward at Convenient Seasons administer the Oath of Fidelity to the Compa. to all Your men who have not taken the Same here in England.

Then you shall in some short & proper Discourse acquaint

¹ See pp. 164, 253-5.

all the men under your Command as well Commanders of Shippes & Sea men as Land men with the Scope & Substance of your designe & Orders, & in the first place Exhort & encourage them to the Obedience due & required to Their Maties. Commission, & allso their Duties to the Compa. whose Servants they are whose Bread they eate & whose Wages they take, informing them how wickedly & Perfidiously those Places were surprised by the French in a time of Peace, how the Honour of the Nation & the Compas. Right is concerned in their recovery, that you hope if occation be they will not doe less bravely against the French there then their Countrey men have lately done in England both at Sea & Land, Letting them know that brave Actions will not only carry their reward with themselves in a Good Booty, but you will assure them of the Companies further kindness and allso of Their Maties. Notice & favour to any One that shall Signalize his Valour against the Common Enemy; wth. what else you shall thinke convenient to say for their Encouragement.

And for Preventing & avoiding disorder & Confusion in case it shall please God by any accident to take away both your selves & your Deputy Mr. Sinclair, (which God forbid) we doe enjoinne & Order you before you enter upon any hazardous attempt together with the advice of your Deputy to Consult & settle upon some Discreete & able person to Succeed in the Government, who shall be by you soe declared at such time as you shall find it necessary & proper for our Service & the security of our affaires & not before.

If it shall please God you arrive there timely for the Season of the Yeare, you shall immediately without any loss of time attack the French where they are, if you with the Principall of your Councell shall Judge it Feazeable & doe your uttmost for the full recovery of Our Rights for wee conceive the first attempt by Surprise before they know of your being there will be most astonishing & in probability carry the day: But if that cannot be & you must Winter else where then we must leave the whole Conduct of the affaire to your Prudent consideration, & recommend secrecy to you & Unity amongst your selves untill an opportunity favour's. When you are able

& you are possest of a proper place you are to Build & settle a Fort & Factory, but it were much better to take it ready erected & Fortefied from the French which indeed is our Owne, And as soone as you enter upon Deliberation you shall Constitute a Councell for the better consulting & determining upon all Emergencies of Our affaires & Concearnes, which wee referre to you to Chose out of the most discreet & sober persons about you & most faithfull to our Intrest, Wee having according to your desire approved & appoynted Mr. Stephen Sinclare to goe with you from Port Nelson to be your Deputy, the rest we referre to your owne Electing, onely Capt. Grimington is very fitt both to advise & Execute. Wee have ordered Capt. Grimington with his Frigatt & shipp's Company & Capt. Coatsworth Commander of the *Perry* Frigatt & Capt. Bayly Commander of the *Prosperous* Fire shipp with their Crew to attend you all the Winter & as long as they stay there to observe your orders & Directions, to forward your Buildings & fortifications, & in fine to Obey & execute what ever Commands you impose upon them in order to Our Service whether of building trading or any other works whatsoever or of attacking the Enemy; & when you shall be able or thinke fitting to send any ship or vessell home Wee leave to your discretion according to the Safety of Our affaires, you being well able to Judge how earnestly wee shall long to receive some account from you. If you chance to come to a Trade with the Indians Wee need not tell you how you shall treat them, with all humanity Justice & Kindnesse, you being soe well acquainted with their Natures & your owne Experience teaching you, But at this time it is more especially necessary when they have missed us soe long in those parts & wee believe are weary enough of the French, & therefore Wee hope by a smooth Carriage with them you may make them very usefull to your designe or at least gett good information from them of the strength of the French & their Trade wherby to forme your approaches the better. And for the makeing your owne men & the Shipp's Companies more usefull to you upon any extraordinary occation Wee doe Order you to Muster & Traine them all & to keep them in the exercise & understanding

of martiall Discipline, that in Case of an Enemy they may more couragiously stand by you & discharge their Duties either at Sea or Land both to their Maties. & us, & we require you allso ever to keep strict & Constant Guard & Watch wherever you are that you be at noe time Surprized, & Let not one of your men straggle abroad without your Leave that they be not picked up & decoyed by the French as Capt. Bond & his Companions foolishly were. In case you meete with any forreigners or of our owne Country trading or Sailing within the Limitt of Our Charter, you are to Seize them as Prize & contrary to Law, you knowing that Our Charter is confirmed by Act of Parliament, & all private trade amongst our owne men by the Obligation of your Oath you are to prevent or detect. You will Carry along with you a Considerable Quantity of very good Brandy, wee doe expect when it shall please God you arrive safe, & settle in the bottome of the Bay that then what Brandy you shall have Over & above what is necessary for the Factory be Traded with our Servants or Indians as well as Tobacco it being now worth with us 10s. p. gall. & very hard to be gott. And if there be anything else wee have not hinted in these Instructions (as it is impossible for us at this distance to give you exact directions for every Case & in every Emergency) Wee Confide soe much in your Prudence & fidelity that we must Leave it to you; together with your Councill to take the best measures you shall thinke fitting after a mature deliberation, not doubting but all & every one in their Station will act with that Courage & faithfullness as becomes the Honour of Our Nation, & the trust reposed in you for the Interest & Benefitt of this Company. Soe praying to God to protect you in your Person & to prosper you in all your undertakings Wee heartily wish you a Good Voyage & Rest

Your Very Loving Friends

EDWARD DERING Dept. Govr.

JOHN PERRY

ROBT. LANCASHIRE

ROBT. NICHOLAS

CHAR. TORIANO

JUNE 17, 1692

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JOHN SMITH
EDWARD WEST

Hudsons Bay House
the 17 June 1692

Postscript

And whereas we have given you power to call a Councell of such persons as you shall thinke most fitting, we doe hereby Likewise Impower you from time to time to Remove or Change any person or persons as you shall thinke most Convenient for our Service.

Instructions or Saileing orders to Capt. Edgcombe
Capt. Leonard Edgcombe

You are with the first faire wind that offers to saile the Shipp *Dering* Frigott under your Command for Hayes River neere Port Nelson in Hudsons Bay, & because the season of the yeare is soe farr advanced we doe not enioyne you to Steer your course to the Northward (altho' we heartily wish it may be your fortune to goe that way) but to make the best of your way as the winds shall present, unless you receive orders to the contrary from us before you saile from Gravesend, you are likewise to keep company with the *Royall Hudson Bay* Frigott Capt. Michael Grimington Commander, the *Perry* Frigott Capt. Charles Coatesworth Commander & the *Prosperous* Fire Shipp Capt. Henery Bayly Commander, & being arrived at or neere Yorke Fort in Hayes River aforesd. you are to deliver unto Capt. George Geyer, or any other our Governour there for the time being, all such provisions goods & stores as goe consigned to him by Bills of Lading, & having made a due delivery of your outward Cargoe you are to receive on Board all such Beaver Furrs & other goods as our Govenor or Chiefe Factor shall Lade, or tender to be Laden, & withall possible expedition you are to depart Hayes River aforesaid & God sending you to arrive at the Port of London you are to make a due delivery & end the intended voyage, & as you have the Command of our best Frigtt., we have required the other

Captaines to Advise & Consult with you upon all Emergencies during your outward bound voyage, not doubting but you will likewise consult & agree with them in all things for the Generall good & advantage of the Compa. & that all your Transactions will be managed with that mildness & discretion, that noe unhappy difference may happen amoungst you, consider you are all one Interest we enjoyne you to preserve peace & a right understanding & to Lay aside all private animosities (if any there be) in this regard they must needs prove very prejudiciall to the Publick Wee hope Likewise wee need not Enjoyne you that the Publick Service of Almighty God be duely pformed on Board the shipp. If in your outward or homeward Bound Voyage you meet with any shipp within Hudsons Streights, tradeing or intended to trade, whether sailed by his Maties. Subjects or Strangers not being in the Compa. imploy, Wee doe by these presents (by vertue of our Charter prohibiting all such Interlopers & Traders Confirmed by Act of Parliament,) require & authorise you to Seize them as Lawfull Prize & to bring them without Imbeizlment of the goods with you for England, In Order of Proceeding against them by Law as in such case requisite. And in regard order & unity are cheifely necessary to promote & prosper any undertaking, Wee doe appoynt you Capt. Leonard Edgcombe Commander of our said Ship *Dering* Frigtt. to be chiefe or Admirall in this voyage or Expedition Outwards bound, and that Capt. Michaell Grimington Commander of the ship *Royall Hudson Bay* Frigtt. Capt. Char. Cotsworth Commander of the *Perry* Frigatt, & Capt. Henry Bayly Commander of the *Prosperous* Fire ship doe Concurr in & follow such rules and Orders both in saileing & other matters relateing to our Service, as you together with the said Cpts. & the advice of the Principall officers of all Our ships shall agree upon & sett downe in Writting under your hands But when you shall be within the vearge & Command of our Factory in Hayes River near Port Nelson, Wee enjoyne you then to follow obey & Execute all such Orders, & Commands as our Governour there with the advice of his Councell shall give you in Charge for our Service during

JUNE 17, 1692

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your stay there Soe heartily praying for your prosperous
Voyage and safe returne to us wee Rest

Your Lo. Friends

EDWARD DERING Deputy Governor

JOHN PERRY

ROBT. LANCASHIRE

ROBT. NICHOLAS

CHARLES TORIANO

JOHN SMITH

EDWARD WEST

Hudsons Bay House

The 17th June 1692

Instructions or Saileing orders to Capt. Grimington
Capt. Michael Grimington

In the first place wee doe require you to have prayers dayly
read on Board the Ship *Royall Hudsons Bay* Frigatt under your
Command, that soe the Blessing of God may attend your
endeavours in our Service.

You are with the first Oppertunity of Wind that Offers to
Saile to Port Nelson in Hudsons Bay, & because the Season
of the yeare is soe farr advanced wee doe not enjoyne you to
steer your Course to the Northward (Altho' we heartily wish
it may be your fortune to goe that way) but to make the best
of your way as the wind shall present, unless you receive
orders to the Contrarie from us before you saile from
Gravesend, you are likewise to keep Company with the *Dering*
Frigtt. Capt. Leond. Edgcombe Commander the *Perry* Frigtt.
Capt. Charles Coastworth Commander, & the *Prosperous* Fire
Ship Capt. Henery Bayly Commander to Port Nelson, where
we enjoyne you to stay as little time as possible, after which
you are to depart from thence (in Company with the *Perry* &
Prosperous) for the Bottome of the Bay, & because we Cannot
direct you in an affaire of this Nature we must leave it to you
& Govenr. Knight to take such measures for us in the
recovering of Our Rights in the Bottome of the Bay, as you

and Govenr. Knight, & his Deputy Governour (if he proceed the Voyage) shall thinke best for our interest & advantage, Wee hope that all your Transactions will be managed with that mildeness & discretion that noe unhappy difference may happen amoungst you, considering you are all one interest, and we doe appoynt you the said Michaell Grimington Commdr. of our said Ship *Royall Hudsons Bay* Frigatt to be chiefe or Admirall in your Voyage from your departure from Port Nelson to the Bottome of the Bay, & from thence to London & that Capt. Charels Cotsworth, Commander of the *Perry* Frigott & Capt. Henery Bayly Commander of the *Prosperous* Fire Shipp doe concurr in and follow such rules & orders both in saileing & other matters relateing to our Service, as you together with the said Captaines & the advice of the Principall Officers of the ships shall agree upon & sett downe in writing under your hands But after your departure from Port Nelson in order to prosecute your voyage to the Bottome of the Bay—Wee enjoyne you & all your shippes Company then to follow obey and execute all such orders and Commands both by Sea & Land as our Governor Knight or his Deputy with the advice of his Councell shall give you in charge for our service during your stay there soe heartily praying to God to Prosper you in this Enterprise & wishing you a safe returne to us againe & we doe expect you keepe Journalls of this your voyage that soe we may have an account from you upon your arrivall. Wee Rest

Your Lov. Freinds

EDWARD DERING Deputy Governor

JOHN PERRY

ROBT. LANCASHIRE

ROBT. NICHOLAS

CHARLES TORIANO

JOHN SMITH

EDWARD WEST

Hudsons Bay House

The 17th June 1692

Instructions or Saileing Orders to Capt. Bayly
Capt. Henery Bayly

In the first place we doe require you to have Prayers dayly read on Board the *Prosperous* Fireship under your Command, that soe the Blessing of God may attend your endeavours in our service.

You are with the first oppertunity of wind that offers to saile to Port Nelson in Hudsons Bay, & because the Season of the yeare is soe farr advanced wee doe not enjoyne you to steer your Course to the Northward (although we heartily wish it may be Your fortune to goe that way) but to make the best of your way as the wind shall present unless you shall receive orders to the Contrary from us before you Saile from Gravesend, you are Likewise to keep Company with the *Dering* Frigott Capt. Leond. Edgcombe Commander, the *Royal Hudsons Bay* Frigott Michaell Grimington Commander and the *Perry* Capt. Charles Cotsworth Commander to Port Nelson, after wch. wee enjoyne you to depart thence (in Company of the *Royall Hudsons Bay* Frigott & the *Perry* Frigott) for the Bottome of the Bay, Wee hope that all your Transactions will be managed with that mildeness and discretion that noe unhappy differences may happen amoungst you, and we doe require you to concurr in & follow such rules and orders both in saileing & other matters relateing to our service as Capt. Edgcombe and the Principall officers of our ships shall agree upon in your outward bound Voyage to Port Nelson, & afterwards to follow such rules & orders (in your voyage to the Bottome of the Bay & home to London) as Capt. Grimington & the Principall officers shall agree upon & sett downe in writeing under your hands, But after your departure from Port Nelson in order to prosecute your voyage to the Bottome of the Bay—Wee then enjoyne you & all your ships Company to follow obey & execute all such orders & Commands both by Sea & Land as our Governor Knight or his Deputy with the advice of his Councell shall from time to time give you in Charge for our Service during your stay there soe heartily wishing you to prosper in the enterprize & to returne safe home Wee alsoe Enjoyne you to keepe A Journall

of your voyage out & home to deliver us at your returne
Wee rest

Your Lo. Friends
EDWARD DERING Deputy Governour
JOHN PERRY
ROBT. LANCASHIRE
ROBT. NICHOLAS
CHARELES TORIANO
JOHN SMITH
EDWARD WEST

Hudsons Bay House
The 17th June 1692

Instructions or Saileing Orders to Capt. Cotsworth
Capt. Charles Cotsworth

In the first place we doe require you to have Prayers dayly read on Board the Shipp *Perry* under your Command, that soe the Blessing of God may attend your endeavours in our Service.

You are with the first oppertunity of wind that offers to saile to Port Nelson in Hudsons Bay, & because the Season of the Yeare is soe farr advanced we doe not enjoyne you to steere your Course to the Northward (altho' we heartily wish it may be your fortune to goe that way) but to make the best of your way as the wind shall present, unless you shall receive orders to the Contrary from us before you saile from Gravesend, you are likewise to keep Company with the *Dering* Frigott Capt. Leonard Edgcombe Commander The *Royall Hudsons Bay* Frigott Capt. Michael Grimington Commander and the *Prosperous* Fire shipp Capt. Henery Bayly Commander to Port Nelson, after wch. we enjoyne you to depart from thence (in Company of the *Royall Hudsons Bay* Frigott and the *Prosperous* Fire Shipp) for the Bottome of the Bay, Wee hope that all your transactions will be managed with that mildeness & discretion that noe unhappy difference may happen amoungst you, And we doe require you to Concurr in and follow such rules and orders both in saileing & other matters relateing to

our service as Capt. Edgcombe and the Principall Officers of our shippes agree upon in your Outward bound voyage to Port Nelson and afterwards to follow such rules & orders (in your voyage to the Bottome of the Bay & home to London) as Capt. Grimington & the Principall Officers shall agree upon & sett downe in writing under your hands. But after your departure from Port Nelson in order to prosecute your voyage to the Bottome of the Bay Wee then enjoyne you & all the Shippes Company to follow obey and execute all such orders & Commands both by Sea & Land as our Governour Knight or his successor with the advice of his Councell shall give you in charge for our service during your stay there soe heartily wishing you to prosper in the enterprize and to returne safe home. We also expect & enjoyne you to keep a Journall of your voyage out & home to deliver us at your returne wee Rest

Your Lo. Freinds

EDWARD DERING Deputy Governour

JOHN PERRY

ROBT. LANCASHEIRE

ROBT. NICHOLAS

CHARLES TORIANO

JOHN SMITH

EDWARD WEST

Hudsons Bay House

The 17th June 1692

William and Mary by the Grace of God of England: Scotland France & Ireland King & Queen Defenders of the Faith &c. Whereas we haveing taken into our Consideration the Injuries spoyles & acts of Hostility committed by the French King & his Subjects unto and upon the Shippes Goods & persons of Our Subjects Extending to their greivous damages & amounting to great sumes, & that notwithstanding the many & frequent demands made for redress & reparation yet none could ever be obtained. We did therefore with the advice of Our Privy Councell thinke fitt, & Order that Generall

reprizalls be granted against the Shipps goods & Subjects of the French King soe that as well Our Fleets & shipps as allso all other ships & Vessells that shall be comissionated by Letters of marque or Generall Reprizall or otherwise shall & may Lawfully Seize & take all Ships Vessells & goods belonging to the French King or his Subjects or Inhabitants within any the Territories of the French King & such other Ships Vessells & goods as are or shall be Lyable to Confiscation & bring the same to Judgment in our High Court of Admiralty of England according to the usuall Course & Laws of Nations, And Whereas Leonard Edgecombe is thought fittly qualified in that behalfe, & hath equiped furnished & victualed a Ship called the *Dering* of the Burthen of about Two Hundred & sixty Tonns whereof the said Leonard Edgcombe is Commander And whereas he the said Leonard Edgecombe hath given Security with sureties by Bond to us in our said Court of Admiralty according to the effect & forme sett downe in certaine Articles & Instructions made by us the Seaven & Twentieth day of June One Thousand Six hundred Eighty & nine—In the First Yeare of Our Reigne a Copy whereof is given to the said Capt. Leonard Edgecombe Know yee therefore that wee by these presents Grant Comission to & doe Licence & authorize the said Leonard Edgecombe to sett forth in Warrlike maner the said shipe called the *Dering* under his owne Command & therewth. by force of Armes to apprehend Seize & take the ships Vessells & goods belonging to the French King and his Subjects or Inhabitants within the Dominions of the French King, & such other ships Vessells & goods as or shall be Liable to Confiscation & to bring the same to such Port of this our Realme of England as shall be most Convenient in Order to have them Legally Adjudged in our high Court of Admiralty, which being there Condemned it shall & may be Lawfull for the said Leonard Edgecombe to Sell & dispose of such Ships Vessells & goods Soe Adjudged & Condemned in such Sort & maner as by the Course of Admiralty & usages in such Cases hath been accustomed. Provided alwaies that the said Leonard Edgecombe keep an exact Journall of his proceedings, & therein perticularly take

notice of all Prices which shall be taken by him, the Nature of such Prizes, the times & places of their being taken, & the Values of them, as neer as he can judge, as also of the station motion & strength of the enemy as well as he or his marriners can discover by the best Intelligence he can gett, & alsoe of whatsoever else shall occur unto him or any of his Officers or marriners or be discovered or declared unto him or them or found out by Examination or Conference with any marriners or passengers of or in any The Shipps or Vessells Taken or by any other person or persons or by any other wayes or means whatsoever touching or Concerning the designs of the Enemy or any of their Fleets Vessells or Parties & of their stations Ports & Places & of their Intents therein & of what merchants Ships or Vessells of the Enemies bound out or home or to any other Place as he or his Officers or marriners shall heare of, And of what else materiall in these Cases may arrive to his or their knowledge, of all wch. he shall from time to time as he shall or may have Oppertunity Transmitt an Accot. to Our Comisioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admirall of England or their Secretary & to keep a Correspondence with them by all Oppertunities that shall present. And further provided that nothing be done by the said Leonard Edgcombe or any of his Officers marriners or Company contrarie to the true meaning of Our foresaid Instructions, but that the said Instructions shall be by them & each & every of them as far as they or any of them are therein concerned in all perticulers well & duly performed & Observed And we pray & desire all Kings princes Potentates Estates & Republicks being our friends & allyes & all other to whom it shall appertaine to give the said Leonard Edgcombe all Aid & assistance & Succour in their ports with his said Ship Company & Prizes without doeing or suffering to be done to him any wrong trouble or hindrance Wee offering to doe the like when we shall bee by them thereunto desired And we will & require all our owne Officers whatsoever to give him Succor & assistance as Occation shall require This our Commission to Continue in force during her present intended Voyage to Hudsons Bay and Back againe to England

In Wittnesse whereof we have Caused the great Seale of our High Court of Admiralty of England to be hereunto affixed Given at London The Seaventeenth day of June In the Year of Our Lord One Thousand Six Hundred ninety Two & in the Fourth Year of Our Reigne

ORLANDO GEE Regr.

Sealed with the Great Seale of the Court of Admiralty on a Labell

The Like Comission (mutatis mutandis) for Capt. Michael Grimington Comander of the *Royall Hudsons Bay* Frigtt.

The Like Comisson (mutatis mutandis) for Capt. Chars. Coatsworth Comander of the *Perry* Frigtt.

The like Comission (mutatis mutandis) for Capt. Hen. Baley Comander of the *Prosperous* Fire Ship.



William R

Certaine Articles or Instructions for such merchts. and others who shall have Commissions or Letters of Marque or Comission for private Men of Warr agt. the French King and his Subjects or Inhabitants within any of his Dominions by Vertue of Their Majties. Comission Granted under the Great Seale of England bearing date the six & Twentieth day of June One Thousand Six Hundred Eighty Nine Given at Our Court at Hampton Court the Seaven & Twentieth day of June aforesaid.

- 1 That itt shall be Lawfull for the said merchants and others authorized by our Letters of marque or Comissions for private men of Warr to sett upon by force of armes and to subdue & take the men of Warr Ships & other Vessells whatsoever as allso the goods moneys & merchandizes belonging to the French King and his Subjects or Inhabitants within any of his Territories or Dominions and such other Ships Vessells & Goods as

are or shall be Liable to Confiscation But soe as that noe Hostility be Committed nor Prize attacked Seized or taken within the Harbours of Princes & States in Amity with us or in their Rivers or Roads within Shott of their Cannon.

- 2 That the said merchts. & others shall bring such Ships and goods as they shall soe seize & take to such port of this Our Realme of England as shall be most convenient for them in Order to have the Same Legally adjudged in the High Court of Admiralty.
- 3 That after such shipp shall be taken and brought into any port the Taker shall be oblided to bring or send as soone as possibly may be three or four of the principall of the Company (whereof the master & the Pilott to be alwaies two) of every ship soe brought into Port before the Judge of the Admiralty of England or his Surrogate or such as shall be Comissioned by him to be Sworn & examined upon such Interrogatories as shall tend to the discovery of the Truth touching the Interest or propriety of such ship or ships & of the goods & merchandize found therein & the takers shall be further Oblided at the time he produceth the Company aforesaid to be Examined to bring & deliver into the hands of the Judge of the Admiralty of England his Surrogate or others Comissioned as aforesaid All such Sea Breifes Charter parties Bills of Ladeing Cocquetts Letters and other Documents & Writings as shall be delivered up or found on board any such Shipp The said Taker or one of his cheife Officers who was present and saw the said papers & Writings delivered up or otherwise found on board at the time of the Capture makeing Oath that the said papers and Writings are brought & delivered in as they were received or taken without any fraud Subduccion or Imbezilment.
- 4 That all Ships Goods & merchandizes taken by Vertue of Letters of Marque or Reprizall shall be safely kept & preserved & noe part of them sold spoiled wasted or deminished & that the Bulke thereof shall not be broken

before Judgmtt. be given in the Court of Admiralty that the Ships goods and merchandizes are lawfull prize & that noe person or persons taken or Surprized in any Ship or Vessell as aforesaid tho' known to be of the Enemies Partie Shall be in cold blood killed maimed or by Torture or cruelty inhumanely treated contrary to the Common usage & Just permission of Warr & whosoever shall offend in any of the premisses shall be severely punished.

- 5 That if by reason of any opposition in the adjudication of the said Ships & goods taken for Lawfull prize there be necessity before adjudication to sell them because they are perishable & cannot be preserved without damage in this Case the Judge of the admiralty shall grant Commissions to take an Inventory and appraizmt. thereof by 5 honest & sufficient men to Sell the same to the party who Offers most & to returne the proceed thereof with the Inventory & appraizmt. into the Court of Admiralty there to remaine for the use of them to whom of right they shall be adjudged to belong.
- 6 That the said Merchts. Commanders of Ships & others who shall Obtaine the said Letters of marque or Comissions as aforesaid for private men of Warr shall not doe or attempt any thing against the true meaning of any Article or articles Treaty or Treaties depending between us and any of our allies touching the freedome of Commerce in time of Warr & the authority of the Passports or Certificates under a certaine forme in some One of the articles or Treaties soe depending between us & our allies as aforesaid when produced & shewed by any of the subjects of our said Allies & shall not doe or attempt any thing against our Loveing Subjects or the Subjects of any Prince or State in amity with us Nor against their Ships Vessells or Goods but Onely against the French King his Subjects & Inhabitants within his Dominions their Ships Vessells & Goods and against such other Ships Vessells & Goods as are & shall be Lyable to Confiscation.
- 7 That after Condemnation of any Prize itt shall & may be

Lawfull for the said merchts. & others to keepe such and soe many ships Vessells goods and Merchandizes as shall be Condemned unto them for Lawfull prize in their owne possession to make Sale & dispose thereof in Open Markett or otherwise to their best advantage in as ample manner as att any time heretofore hath been accustomed in Case of Letters of Marque or of Just Prizes in time of Warr & that it shall be Lawfull for all maner of persons as well our Subjects as others to Buy the said Shippes Vessells goods Merchandizes soe taken & Condemned for Lawfull Prize without any damage or molestacion to ensue there upon to the said Buyers or any of them by reason of the Contracting or dealing for the Same.

- 8 That our Subjects & all other persons whatsoever who shall either in their own persons serve or beare any Charge or adventure or in any sort further or sett forward the said adventure according to these articles shall stand & be freed by vertue of the said Commission & that noe person being any wise reputed or Challenged for an offender against our laws but shall be freed under our protection of & from all Trouble & Vexation that might in any wise grow thereby in the same manner as any other Our Subjects ought to be by Law in their aiding & assisting us either in their owne persons or otherwise in a Lawfull Warr against our declared Enemies.
- 9 That the said Merchts. and others before the takeing out Commissions shall give notice in Writing subscribed with their hands to our Commrs. for Executeing the Office of our High admirall of England for the time being or to the Leiutent. and Judge of our said Court of Admiralty or his Surrogate of the name of their Ship & of her Tonage, and Burthen and the names of the Capt. Owners or Setters out of the said ship with the number of men & the names of the Officers in her & for what time they are Victualled & also of their Ordnance furniture & amunition to the end the same may be Registred in the said Court of Admiralty.
- 10 That those merchts. Captains and all others who shall

have such Letters of Marque or Comissions as aforesaid shall hold & keep and are hereby Enjoyned to hold & keep a Correspondence by all Conveniences & upon all Occations from time to time with Our Comissioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admirall of England Soe as from time to time to render & give unto them or some of them not only an Accott. or Intelligence of their Captures or proceedings by Vertue of such their said Letters of marque or Comissions aforesaid but also whatsoever shall Occur unto them or be discovered or declared unto them or found out by them by Examination of or conference with any marriners or Passengers of or in the Ships or Vessells taken or by any other wayes or means whatsoever touching or concerning the designs of the Enemies or any of their Fleets Ships Vessells or parties & of the Station Seas ports and places & of their intents therein & of what Merchts. Ships or Vessells of the Enemies bound out & home as they shall heare of & of what else materiall in these Cases may arrive to their knowledge to the end such Course may be there upon taken & such order given as may be requisite.

- II That before any such Letters of marque or Commissions Issud under Seale security with sureties shall be taken by Bond before the Leiutent. and Judge of Our High Court of Admiralty of England or his Surrogate in the Summe of Three Thousand pounds Sterll. (if the ship Carries above One Hundred & Fifty men) and if a lesser number then in the Summe of Fifteene Hundred pounds Sterling The Condicion of wch. Obligacion shall be to the Effect and in the forme following (Vizt.)

The Condition of this Obligacion is such That whereas is authorized by Letters of Marque or a Commission for a private man of Warr to Arme Equipp & sett forth to Sea the Shipp called the _____ of the Burthen of about _____ Tonns whereof he the said _____ goeth Capitaine with men Ordnance Amunition & Victualls to sett upon by force of Armes & to Subdue Seize and take upon the Seas or

upon any River or in any Port or Creeke the Men of Warr Ships & other Vessells whatsoever Together with the Goods Money & merchandizes belonging to the French King or to any of his Subjects or Inhabitants within any of his Territories or Dominions whatsoever Excepting only within the Harbours or Roads within Shott of the Cannon of Princes & States in Amity with their Maties. And whereas he the said

hath a Coppy of certaine Instructions approved of and passed by his Matie. in Councell The Originall whereof is under his Maties. Signe manuell and Royall signett delivered him to governe himselfe therein as by the Tenor of the said Commission and of the said Instructions thereunto relateing more at large appeareth if therefore nothing be done by the said

Or any of his Officers mariners or Company contrary to the true meaning of the said Instructions But that the Commission aforesaid and the said Instruccions shall in all perticulers be well & Duly performed and observed as far as they shall the said Ship Capt. and Company any way concerne and if they or any of them shall give full satisfaction for any damage or Injury which shall be done by them or any of them to any of their Maties. Subjects or allies or their Subjects. And also if the said and his Officers and marriners shall duely & truly pay or cause to be paid to their Maties. the just Tenths or Tenth parte of all such Ships & goods as shall be by them or any of them taken & seized & shall be by due Course of Law adjudged to be good & Lawfull Prize & also shall truly pay or cause to be paid to their Maties. or the Customers Officers appointed to receive the same for their Maties. the usuall Customes (due to their Maties.) of & for all Ships & goods soe as aforesaid taken & adjudged for Prize That then the above written Obligation to be void & of noe Effect or else to Remaine in full force & Virtue

By his Maties. Comand
SHREWSBURY

These following Clauses are by order added at the Latter End of the foregoeing Condicion

And moreover if the said Leonard Edgecombe shall not weare the Kings Colours commonly called the Union Jack on Board the said Shipp the *Dering* Frigot in Company of any their Maties. Men of Warr or soe neare any other Men of Warr belonging to any Nation in Amity wth. their Maties. Soe as to Occation any salute from them or in or near any Port or Road whatsoever

ORLANDO GEE Regr.

*Comisson to
Governor James
Knight*

The Governor & Compa. of Adventurers of
England Tradeing into Hudsons Bay
To Capt. James Knight

By Vertue of the Power & Authority to us given by King Charles the second by his Letters Patents Under the Great Seale of England bearing date the 2d day of May in the 22th yeare of his Raigne & in persuance of & submission to their Present Maties. King William and Queen Mary her Gracious Comission under her owne Royall Hand & Signe Manuall for the Same purposes to you granted, wee doe hereby Constistute & appoynt you to be Governor & Cheife Commander of & in the Place commonly called Albany River Moose River & Rupert River in Hudsons Bay in the North West of America, & of all the Lands Territories Isles Forts Seas Bayes Rivers Creeks & Lakes from Cape Henerita Maria to the Bottome of the Bay & upon the East & West Maine To use & Exercise the said Government & Command dureing Our Will & pleasure & all our Comanders of Our Forts & all Captaines & Masters of our Shipps or Vessells & all other our Officers & persons whatsoever wch. are or shall be Employed by us within the limets aforesaid are to yeild Obedience to you, and you are to follow such orders & directions as you shall from time to time Receive from us or from the Governor Deputy Governor & Comttee. of the said Company for the time being, given under our hands & Comon Seale the 17th day June Ann. Dom. 1692 & in the 4th year of the Raigne of our Sovereigne

JUNE 17, 1692

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Lord & Lady King Wm. & Queen Mary of England Scotland
France & Ireland Defenders of the Faith &c.

Hudson's Bay House
the 17th June 1692

The Governour and Company of Adventurers of
England Trading into Hudsons Bay

*Comission to
Deputy Governor
Stephen Sinclair*

To Mr. Stephen Sinclare

By vertue of the power & authority to us given by King Charles the second by his Letters Patents under the Great Seale of England beareing date the second day of May in the Two & Twentieth Yeare of his reigne, & confirmed by Act of Parliament In the second yeare of their Present maties. Reigne Wee doe hereby consitute and appoynt you to be Deputy Governor under Capt. James Knight of & in the places Comonly called Albany River Moose River & Ruperts River in Hudsons Bay in the north West of America & of all the Lands Territories & Isles Forts Seas Rivers & Bayes there and in case of the decease of the said Capt. James Knight you are to succeed him in the Government & to exercise as Governor there the same powers & authorities as are by us granted to the said Capt. James Knight & this Dureing Pleasure Given under our hands & Common Seale the Seventeenth day of June Anno Dom. 1692 And in the Fourth Yeare of the Raigne of King William and Queen Mary of England Scotland France and Ireland Defenders of the Faith &c.

EDWARD DERING Depy. Governor

Hudsons Bay House 17th
day of June 1692

Upon the Receipt of My Ld. Marleborough & Esqre. Youngs Letters¹ Concerning Mr. Radison the Following answers were wrote by the Secretary viz.

Hudsons Bay House the 1st February 1692/3
May it Please your Ldshipp

I am Commanded by the Comittee² of the Hudsons Bay Compa. to acquaint your Ldshipp that they Received your Letter Concerning Mr. Radison whose case they Largely debated the Last Comittee³ & well hoped that the Resolutions then taken would have been satisfactory. But since they find it otherwise for which they are heartily sorry, they will presume to give your Ldshipp (with all Expedition) the perusall of the state of that afaire In the Intrem

I am

Your Ldhipps most humble
& most obedient servant

WM. POTTER⁴ Secretary

To
The Rt. Honble. the Earle of Marleborough
Humbly Present

Hudsons Bay House the 1st Feb 1692/3
Sr.

I am Commanded by the Comittee to acquaint you that they Received your Letter Concerning Mr. Radison, who altho

¹ A copy of William Yonge's letter follows. The "Letters Outward" do not contain a copy of a letter from Marlborough.

² For the names of the men elected in November 1692 to serve as Governor, Deputy Governor and on the Committee, for one year, see Appendix A, p. 309.

³ At the Committee held on January 25, 1693 it was resolved "to give Mr. Radison a gratuity of £50 upon condition he Relinquish all pretentions upon the Company for any Colaterall agreement and that for the future he shall onely Receive his sallery of £50 p.Anno. and the Benefitt of £200 originall stock in this Compa." (A.1/15, fo. 7d.).

⁴ William Potter was appointed accountant to the Company at £50 per annum on November 3, 1686, and became secretary on December 20, 1689. He died on December 6, 1724.

they have well weighed and Considered his Case yet for your better satisfaction they will in a short time answer your Letter more at Large In the Intrem I am

Your most faithfull Humble servt.

WM. POTTER

To
Wm. Young Esqr.
These

Coppy of William Young Esqre. his Letter to the Committee
Dated the 20th December 1692¹

Gentellmen

I am verry sorry your Benevolence to Mr. Radison moves soe slowley, dureing his great necessity, since he was soe Kindly Recommended to you by our Late Governor the Earle of Marleborough,² I presume the onely Reason is, because the Majority of the Present Committee are Strangers to him & his former Concernes with the Compa. I hold myselfe obleiged, therefore to doe him Right, by giveing you his Character, in as few words as I am able.

Mr. Radison was borne a French man, he was educated from a Child in Canada, & spent all his Youthfull yeares in hunting & Commercing with the Indians in the Countries Adjacent to Hudsons Bay: By Reason whereof, he became absolute Masters of their Language, their Customes & methods of Trade.

Mr. Radison being at New England about 27 or 28 yeares past, mett there with Coll. Nichols the Governor of New Yorke, & was by him perswaded to goe for England & proffer his service to King Charles the Second, in order to make a settlement of an English factory in that Bay.

¹ This letter is printed in the appendix to Nute, *Gaesars of the Wilderness*, pp. 332-6. See also p. 261 et seq. The events in Radisson's life before and after the date of this letter are fully covered in the same volume.

² Marlborough presided at the General Court held on November 10, 1692, when Sir Stephen Evance was elected Governor of the Company (A.1/15, fo. 1).

Att his arrivall here the said King giveing Creditt to his Reasons for that undertakeing, granted to Prince Rupert, the Duke of Albemarle, & others¹ (the same Charter wee doe still Claime by,) thereby Constituting them the Proprietors of the said Bay under which Authority he the said Radison went Imediately, & made an English settlement there according to his promise.

Att his Returne to England, & the said factory being settled, the King Publickly acknowledged his great service to the Nation, & presented him a medall with a gold Chaine to weare, in Token of his favour.

Some years after when the Compa. denied him maintenance & Rejected his service, he went to Canada againe, the Place of his Education, and as he Tould the Compa. Before he went, he was Compelled to doe, haveing noe other place of Abode.

Being at Canada & wanting Maintenance, he was easely perswaded to Joyne with his Countreymen the French, & to Conduct an expedition into the Bay, which for the Present seemed to the Prejudice of our Company, though it hath since redounded much to their Advantage.

When he was arrived in the Bay, he was soe well Knowne to all the Indian Captaines, with whose Assistance & Intelligence, Joyned with his owne Courage & Conduct, he easeily destroyed our Compies. factory, as also he did a New England factory planted above us in Port Nelson River.

This New England Factory being settled above us, would have been a Thorne in our sides, & would have Intercepted our Trade with the Indians nor Could wee have easeley (if att all or Justly) removed them, they being settled in that River, before our settlement there made.

Dureing that Winter Mr. Radison used violence to none of the English, but susteined them with victuals, & gave them powder & shott, when their shipp was Cast away, & they were destitute of Booth, & when the Indians offered him a great Present, to suffer them to Destroy all the English, he utterly Refused it, & gave them a shipp to Carry them away.

After this Mr. Radison settled the French factory much

¹ For the charter and those named therein see *H.B.S.*, V, 131-48.

higher in the same River (above the fall) where Considering his alliances with the Indians, it was out of the Power of New England or old England to destroy them & Imediately went himselfe to France.

Mr. Young that yeare being a Member of the Hudsons Bay Committee, with Leave obtained from Sr. James Hayes (then theire Deputy Governour) did write 3 or foure Insinuating Letters to the said Mr. Radison then at Parris, acknowledging the Compies. former severities to him, and to allure him to Returne againe into the Compies. service did make him Large promises, that he should bee Extreemely well Received & Rewarded by the Company.

After the exchange of 3 or 4 Letters, Mr. Radison unexpectedly arrived at London as much to the surprize of his Corespondent Mr. Young, as the Rest of the Committee, for he durst not write a Word of his Intention, Least his Letters should have been Intercepted, which he said would have Cost him his Life.

Att his arrivall, the Compies. shipps were Ready to depart, for the Bay, soe that he had butt Just time to Kisse the Kings hand at Windsor, and Likewise, the Duke of Yorkes,¹ who was then Governour of the Compa. they Booth Recommended him to the Compies. Care & Kindness, by theire Comands, to Sr. James Hayes then the Deputy Governor, & also directed that he should bee made an English man, Least by any Casualty he should fall into the hands of the French, which in his absence was performed.

Before he went in the Compies. shipps to the Bay, the Compa. gave him Two originall actions in the Compies. stock & £50 p. Ann. subsistance money, with Large promises of future Rewards, if he should performe what he undertooke, & doe them any Considerable service: & then he went away with the Companies servants.

Arriveing at Port Nelson, he Imediately put the Compies. Agents into the entire possession of that River, he brought away all the French into England, and all the Beavor & other

¹ King James II, when Duke of York, was Governor of the Company from 1683-85.

furs which the French had Traded & gave them to the Compa. without demanding any share for them selves. Though some men are of oppinion since they were the product of their owne Laboure, they had a Right to it all, which was sold for seven thousand pounds.

Att this time also he was Kindly welcomed to England by the King, who againe Recommended him to the Compa. as a person much deserveing there Kindness, & then the Committee presented him with 100 guneys, and entred an order in their Bookes that he should have £50 p. Ann. more, Added to his former £50 till the King should give him a place, & then the Last £50 to Cease & determine.

He never had any place given him, yet Sr. Edw. Dering when Deputy Governr. had power to Influence the Committee to take away the said £50 againe, & he hath not Received it the space of Two yeares & halfe Last past, soe that he hath at Present but £50 p. Ann. to maintaine him selfe; & wife & 4 or 5 Childeren and servants, & of which £50 £24 goeth for house Rent.

I did omitt to acquaint you in its propper place that when he was apointed to bee your Cheife Trader, to Barter your goods with the Indians, at Port Nelson, & was sent theither onely for that purpose, some of your servants there, tempted him to Combine with them to Cheate the Compa. of their Beavor, and because hee did Refuse soe to doe, they tooke an ocasion to quarell with him, & his nephew,¹ Beating & wounding them, & dureing the time of Trade, which may well bee presumed to bee done on purpose, to give them an opertunity to act those villanies without his power of observation, which he had Refused to act in Consort with them.

Thus gentlemen I have given you the History of Mr. Radisons Transactions in the fewest words I could posible, If there bee any errors (besides my scrawling hand which I cannot helpe) I begg your pardon, God is my witnes there is none to my knowledg, therefore I doe humbly & heartily desier you to Continue & pay him the £100 p. Ann. & the

¹ Jean Baptiste Chouart, the "nephew Gooseberry" referred to on p. 177.

arrears from the time that any part of it was stopt, for the Reasons following.

- 1st Because all persons that Know his story, (that ever I met with) except Sr. Edw. Dering, thinke it most Just & Reasonable.
- 2 Because he had noe place given him in Lew of the £50 p. Ann. stopt from him: & that is his great Losse, for it Cannot bee Imagined, that any place to bee given him by the King, could bee worth soe Little as pr. £50 p. Ann.
- 3 Because of his great fidelity to the Compa. who in more then Twenty years service, was never Taxed for defrauding them to the Vallew of a skin, notwithstanding his many Temptations.
- 4 Because he did never Capitulate with the Compa. but thankfully accepted what they were pleased to give him.
- 5 Because he hath been extreamly affronted & misused by your servants in the Bay, & made a prisoner on the water in the time of Trade, & that for noe other Reason, Because he would not Confederate with them, to Cheate the Compa. of their goods.
- 6 Because the Compa. have Received from Port Nelson since he delivered them that factory, furrs neare the vallew of £100000: which wiser men then my selfe, beleive had all been Lost, & theire whole Interest in the Bay (I meane as to the Compies. present Posesion) If he had not come over to the Compies. service when Invited.
- 7 Because the 2 originall actions & the £100 p. Ann. revert to the Compa. againe at his death & what Reward is that Considering his services, for a man who hath Crost the seas between England & America 24 times, & is growne old in the service of the Compa.
- 8 Because it is Imposible he can maintaine a Wife & servants & 4 or 5 Childeren with £26:- p. Ann. in London with meate & drinke & Clothes.
- 9 Because his debts are soe great, through necessity, not

- Ill management, that he must bee forced to shift for him selfe, & Leave his wife great with Child & 4 or 5 Childeren more on the parrish, if you Releive him not.
- 10 Because he Cannot sell any of his 2 actions to sustaine his great necesitties because they are onely for his Life.
- 11 Because King Charles who gave us our Charter, gave him also a Token of his favour in the medall & gold Chaine, & gave soe many Kind Recomendations to the Company.
- 12 Because the French have sett a price upon his head on pretence that he is a Traytor to his Countrey: soe that if he goes home, he must bee Chopt to peices, & if he stayes in England, he must starve, without your favourable Asistance.
- 13 Lastly gentelmen, give me Leave to Remember you, what I would not have done but to serve Mr. Radison, viz. That as he was the Imediate author of the Compies. present prosperity, soe I my selfe was the first mover that Induced him to it, & without me he had never come back to theire service, Nay when I wrote to Invite him, the Committee Ridiculed me for the attempt, But when it Succeeded to theire Admiration, I had the Honour to have the thankes of the Committee, & some freinds moved that I should bee presented with a gratuity for my good service, But I utterly Refused any, as Knowing I did nothing but my duty, yet if you thinke I deserved any, I humbly desier you will give it to Mr. Radison, in his greate & pressing necessity, & I begg it as heartily as I would begg a Morsell of Bread for my selfe, If I were Ready to starve, and will ever acknowledg it as the greatest as well as the Justest Kindnesse you can doe to

Your Most obedient servant
WILL. YONGE

The Committees Answer to Esqr. Yonges Letter¹

In answer unto Esqr. Yonges Letter to the Committee dated the 20th December Last The three or foure first paragraphs, are a history of Mr. Radisons Birth Education & Travels, which wee doe not Gainesay. And Beleive hee might bee some wayes Instrumentall in the first settlement at the Bottome of the Bay, and that King Charles did order him a medall & gold Chaîne at his first Returne, And wee doubt not but those Honble. Persons in the Committee then, did verry well Reward him for the service hee did them.

Yet Mr. Yonge in the next parragraph saith the Compa. denied him Mainetenance & Rejected his service, But wholely omitts the Reasons thereof, which If wee could bee soe happy as to Know, wee should bee the better able to Judg whether twere the Compies. unkindness or Radisons desert.

Wee doe understand that about the yeare 1681 or 1682 that Mr. Radison & his brother Gooseberry² did enter Into an other Contract with the Company & Received of them £50 & soone after without any service don them, they absconded & deserted theire service & went for France & thence to Canada.³

And the next yeare following as Mr. Yonge saith, they did Confederate with theire Countrymen, & Joyned with them in An Expedition to Port Nelson, being animated thereto by the Report Mr. Abram had given the Compa. of the situation & great hopes & probability of that Place to Prove the best factory in the Bay. And accordingly Radison arrived in Hayes River, & haled up his Two Barkes Wherein they came, as high as they could for feare of the English, whome Radison knew would bee there that yeare, There the French about the fall built a smale Hutt, which is the fortification that Mr. Yonge saith neither the Power of old nor new England could Remove, haveing neither gun or any workes made about it, a place merely to sleepe in, & manned onely with 7 French men.

¹ This letter is printed in Nute, *Caesars of the Wilderness*, pp. 336-43.

² His brother-in-law Médard Chouart, sieur des Groseilliers. For a biographical note see *H.B.S.*, V, 231-6. See also Nute, *Caesars of the Wilderness*.

³ They left London for France at the end of 1675.

This expedition of Radisons Mr. Yonge saith tho it seemed then Prejudiciall to the Compa. yet since hath Redounded much to the Compies. Advantage, But how that can bee wee Cannot apprehend.

For in the next Line almost hee saith Radison had such Correspondencey with & Knowledg of the Indian Capts. that Joyned with his owne Courage & Conduct, hee soone destroyed the Compies. settlement, as also that of New England, And yet is also pleased to say, that the New England settlement, was soe firme & strong, that the Power of old England could not destroy it, & yet Mr. Radison makes nothing of it, but upon second thoughts, wee beleive Mr. Yonge will bee of another opininn, therefore wee answer Nothing att all to it.

But as for the old England settlement, it was onely a house Mr. Bridgar¹ had Built to Lodg in & keepe the goods dry, without gun or any Workes, or one Corne of powder, for Old Gillam² in the Compies. shipp, arrives verry Late (the Reason wee will give you afterwards), And as soone as arrived at Port Nelson River, hee Landed his Beeffe porke shott & Iron ware &ca. that would take noe harme by Lying open, (because there was noe house built there) and before old Gillam could have an oportunity to Land more goods, the Ice came soe thick upon him, that drove his shipp to sea & was never heard of afterwards, A Just Reward of his perjury and perfidiousness to the Compa, as you will heare heerafter.

You have heard of a New England settlement made & Taken by Radison, it came thus, old Gillam hereing from Mr. Abram what an Advantageous place this Port Nelson might prove And the Comendations hee gave it, (And not without cause as it proves) And haveing Entered into service of the Compa. at the same time his son³ being here: he sent him for New England wth. Recomendacions for equiping out an Expedition to Port Nelson, telling him hee would give him

¹ John Bridgar. For a biography see *H.B.S.*, XI, 377-80.

² Zachariah Gillam. For a biography see *H.B.S.*, V, 226-30, and for references to him see *H.B.S.*, VIII, IX, XI.

³ Benjamin Gillam. See *H.B.S.*, XI, 77 et seq.

opportunity to gett in Before him, & to make a settlement first above the Compa. which would (hee Thought) prevent the Compies. settlement, whereupon young Gillam sailes for New England, and equips a shipp, and tooke with him Trading goods & provisions accordingly, & sailes for Port Nelson & accordingly arrives there Before his father, and settles him selfe in the most Advantageous place, this was not done neither without some Jealousey that old Gillam & his son & Radison had Laid this plott Togeather, in Old England to frustrate the Compies. Intentions, for Radison being first arrived there & heareing there was an English Shipp arrived Presently after, hee by Intelligence heares of young Gillams arrivall att Port Nelson River, comes downe to him & then makes a Confederacey with young Gillam to defend one an other, And If Possible to surprize & seize the Compies. shipp & goods, which also succeeded, for old Gillam comeing in soe Late with designe to Lett his son first arrive, & hee being driven out to sea & Lost, which Radison heareing of, came downe & without much Resistance Bridgar haveing noe powder, hee seized upon Bridgar & the few men with him & his goods & Carries them to the fall or neare thereto, where there Barkes Lay, & Lodged them on board a Barke good pt. of the Winter without fier or Clothes, And whereas Mr. Yonge saith Radison used the English verry Kindly, giveing them victuals & powder, in the first place they had such quantities of Salt provisions that they needed none, and Mr. Bridgar sath hee offered Radison £25 Ster. & more for one Barrell of Powder to Kill fresh provisions with, but was deneyed him and Instead of shewing them Kindnesse, hee tooke all they had & burnt theire house.

Radison haveing Bridgar & all his men & goods secure, he makes a second visett to young Gillam, in all Love & flattering freindshipp, & Tempts him to take a Walke into the woods, where Radison Laid an ambush for him, & there young Gillam is seized, who by a Stratagem is Carried to his men and forced to Betray his men shipp & goods to the French, in feare of his Life which most Certainly hee had Lost if hee had Refused to doe, & heare young Gillam has his Reward &

Radison has posession of all, But how Kindly hee used the English Lett the World Judg.

By this seizure as you have heard Radison is Capacitated to make Large Returnes, which hee doth for Canada, not onely off Furrs but of European Comodities, to a Considerable Vallew.

Accordingly hee sailes for Canada in the next fall in young Gillams shipp takeing Bridgar & young Gillam with him prisoners, & shipps all the English men both from Old & New England in one of his old and Toren Barkes to the Bottome of the Bay, & in goeing downe, they mett with one of our shipps Returneing for England from the Bottome of the Bay, where all these men Lay upon the Compas. hand for 12 m. time, the other Barke of Radisons, was toren in peices by the Ice, soe that had not Radison seized upon young Gillams shipp he and his French men had all Certainly perrished, except could have Travelled over Land for Canada (& then must have Left all their goods behind them) But that was Imposible.

Now sailes Radison for Canada in young Gillams shipp with a Large Cargoe of furrs & other goods taken from the English to a great vallew, Leaveing also with his nephew Gooseberry a whole yeares Trade of European Comodities which produced that verry Cargoe Mr. Radison came with for England and made his peace with the Compa. in anno 1684.

Radison Being arrived at Canada, Bridgar makes his Complaint to the government at Quebeck & enters prossess against Radison, for his Ill usage & Robbing of the English of all they had, which was highly Resentd by them in soemuch that hee durst not shew his head there, but skulkes away and goes for France, upon which Bridgars action falls; the person offending not being to bee found.

By this time our shipps arrive from the Bottome of the Bay in England, By whome the Compa. had Intelligence of the Prankes Radison had plaied at Port Nelson, whereupon the Compa. made an adresse to King Charles, who gave order forth with to his Ambasad. in France to give in a memoriall to the French King, which is don & prest verry hard for Restitution &ca. Radison being arrived & gott to Parris,

heares thereof his name being in the English Ambasad. Memorall, hee was forced to skulke & hide him selfe, upon which wee are easely apt to beleive, he writt to some freind in England to Interceed for him to the Compa. And Esqr. Youngs is the first that acquaints Sr. James Hayes the Deputy Governor then in Comittee, who forthwith Adjourned the Comittee to the halfe moone Tavern in Cheapeside & tooke along with him for more privacy onely Mr. Young Sr. Edw. Dering & Mr. Cradock & there it was ordered that Mr. Young bee desired to write to Mr. Radison & Corespond with him, Towards bringing him over & Reconcileing him selfe with the Compa. whome wee Conceive was easely perswaded thereto, Considering the Condition hee was in, & accordingly he came for England and all Misdemeanors forgiven, upon promise that he would Restore what hee could especially what was traded by the 7 French men at Port Nelson, and that he would bring the French men for England, & Leave our men in possession of Hayes River.

Whereupon Mr. Radison appeares before the Committee and Enters into a new Contract. the Compa. Giveing him the Benefitt of £200 stock & £50 sallary for Life, and thereupon hee sailes for Hayes River & assoone as he arrives there hee acquaints his nephew Gooseberry & the Rest, what Entertainement hee had met with at Canada, as also in France, and how necessitated to make the Best termes hee could with the Compa. to save his neck & theires to. They forth with came downe bringing with them all they had Traded, But whether more or Lesse twas the product of the goods they had Taken from the English, when Radison arrived here the Committee gratified him & his French men verry Liberally, & maintayned them a whole yeare & Tooke as many of them into the Compies. service as would Returne, at verry high wages his nephey haveing £80 p. Ann. & the Rest in Proportion, the meanest £30 p. Ann. in expectation that they should doe some extraordinary service, which they all promised, by Travelling & bringing downe new Nations of Indians to Trade with us, & Increased Mr. Radisons wages to £100 p. Ann. dureing his service abroad.

Whereupon Radison his nephew Gooseberry & 4 or 5 more Returned to Port Nelson the next yeare and stayed there 2 years, But instead of doing the Compa. extraordinary service, our Governr. there found not that they did any better service then our owne men, at 10 or £12 p. Ann. for they never would Travell nor was the Increase of Beavor or other skins any thing the more for them, nor any service in any manner done the Compa. by them more then was done by our owne men.

Whereupon after Two years stay back they Returned & arriveing here, there wages were pd. them & they acknowledged they never in their Lives saw soe much of their owne before, Mr. Radison at his Returne, hee Exhibits a Long scrowle of 40 or 50 Articles against Governor Geyer & Sinclar, of High Treason & wee Know not what, but upon serious Examination of, the then Committee they were accounted frivolous false and malicious, noe profe being made to any one article of Consequence, tho Mr. Radison had perswaded one Mr. Misenden to Come over with him, who Left his Charge as Deputy Governr. & Cheife in New Severn, having promises from Radison, if would witness to some articles he should by the Interest hee could make in the Committee Returne Governr. of the Bay. But what profe hee made & how Rewarded is notoriously Knowne, for that hee was discarded the Compas. service & never to bee Employed more.

And this wee may observe by the way, that notwithstanding Mr. Radisons Complaint that Governr. Geyer & others Fell out with him & his nephew because they would not Joyne with them in Cheating the Compa. of their Beavor, yet wee have ever since Mr. Radisons Returne, had verry Large, Increase, & much better Beavor then ever, & have not to this day heard of any wrong done don us in that nature.

But on the other hand wee have found Governr. Geyer soe discreet, Judicious & Carefull in the Compies. affaires, that wee never heard the Governmt. there was ever in such good hands Before, And had the Committee hearkened to the Importunacy of Mr. Radison in Calling him home, wee have Reason to feare our Trade would have come to nothing. If

wee had not Lost all, But yet If Radison has any Charge against Governr. Geyer, wee doubt not butt in a few monthes time hee may speake to him face to face, & may bee ashured hee shall bee Impartially heard before the Committee, one thing more wee take Leave to Observe by the way, That had not the Committee Interceeded & stopt the proceedings of Mr. Bridgar at Mr. Radisons Returne in 1684 from the Bay, hee had Certainly given him a great deale of Trouble & put him to Expence too; If it had not gon farther, for Takeing all hee had away from him at Port Nelson.

And soe the Like of young Gillam, but that the Compa. Threatned him If he medled with Radison the Compa. would fall upon him for Trading into their priveledges, & soe stopt him, whereas they were both sencible enough that Radison had done all what hee did at Port Nelson without any Comission from the French King or Canada Company Either, how hard it might have gone with Radison wee say not.

As for the £50 gratuity Mr. Radison received, Its Knowne to most that that was not Intended to Continue halfe soe Long as twas paid, But some Reasonable time the Earle of Marleborough might have to promote him to some place equivolent, But wee understand from my Lord the Reasons why it could not bee done, wee are well satisfied therein, But Because it could not Conveniently bee done by my Lord, wee doe not thinke the Compa. are one Jott the more obleiged to pay him the gratuity, for the Comittee never promised any place, & should not hee gett one till Domes Day shall wee bee therefore obleiged to give him yearly the gratuity wee thinke not, and If his gratuities should bee proportionable to his Expences it may come to £500 p. Ann. as well as one.

That King Charles was soe Kind as to Welcome him home &ca. Wee Apprehend had the good King Knowne of his Behaviour to this Compa. & to others his Subjects, hee would have banished such a fellow his presence & Court, And Last of all, That the Comittee now Cannot bee of Mr. Yongs opininn as to Mr. Radison in all things, wee crave pardon for wee cannot helpe it, as all men are not alike in face soe are they neither alike in minde & Judgment. Besides the

Information wee have Received about this affaire wee have Reason to beleive it, Being from persons still in Being, and are Ready to Testifie the Truth of the above Narrative & answer As for the Reasons yet added for the Continuance of the £50 Gratuity The most of them are answered by the foregoeing Narrative & Answer yet wee say,

- 1 That wheareas its Afirmed all that have ever heard the story of Mr. Radison except Sr. Edw. Dering, thinke it most Reasonable & Just. wee must begg your pardon for that, for wee never heard one member of the Compa. that had that opinion but Mr. Yonge, & wee thinke Its most Reasonable that those that give should Know why they give, & ought to dispose of theire owne as they thinke best, nor will a gratuity or Charity admitt of Compulsion.
- 2 That tho hee never has had any place nor never should have one given him, Thats noe Reason to Continue the gratuity. If soe it would not bee a gratuity but a due debt, which wee Cannot permitt. being noe Contract in the Case, nor promise hee should have a place.
- 3 As for Mr. Radisons Fidelity to the Compa. wee grant that wee doe not finde him accused for stealeing or purloyning theire goods, but Breach of Trust & Contracts Leaveing the Compies. service after had Received theire money, wee doe find him guilty off.
- 4 Tho Its said he never did Capitulate with the Compa. wee find that hee did Capitulate as pr. the minute the 6 May 1685.¹
- 5 Wee Cannot beleive the Compies. servants did ever abuse or affront Mr. Radison because he would not Consent with them in Cheating the Compa. of theire Beavor for that the persons hee accused were never found guilty since Mr. Radison's departure nor before, & that every yeare since the Compa. have Received a Considerable Increase of Beavor & other goods in Returnes.
- 6 That the great quantities of goods wee have Received has

¹ Radisson did not "Capitulate as pr. the minute of 6 May 1685". See *H.B.S.*, IX, 240, and Nute, *Caesars of the Wilderness*, pp. 230-1.

been since Mr. Radisons departure out of the Bay, soe that hee could not bee the ocasion of the Increase, & that hee came into the Compies. service was more to serve himselfe then any Respect or Love hee had for the Compa.

- 7 Wee grant that booth the £200 stock & £50 sallery revert to the Compa. after his death, & that was the agreement made with him as abovesaid, nor Know wee of above 4 times at most of the 24 that hee went to the Bay in the Compies. service.
- 8 Its not our busines to enquire how Mr. Radison mainetaynes his Wife & family wee have not onely pd. him what hee Contracted with us for, But have given him such Large gratuities & guifts that hee has Received of the Compa. above £1000 in eight yeares time, but how he spends it, is not ouer busines to enquire after.
- 9 Wee Know not, nor can wee take Cognizance how Mr. Radison Contracts his debts, hee Knowes best, what hee does, & that he will Leave his wife & childeren upon the Parrish Lett them Looke to that.
- 10 Wee agree with Mr. Yonge that the 2 actions are but for his Life and therefore cannot sell them, & this Mr. Radison Knew when hee made the Contract with the Compa. else did not understand him selfe, Butt wee Know hee thought it the Best Bargaine he ever made in all his Life time & soe it was.
- 11 That the King was pleased to give him a medall & Chaine of 25 or £30 thats noe argument for us to give him £1000, & wee Know that was Contrived too, But wee are all of opinnion that Capt. Edgcombe deserved a gold Chaine & medall much better then Mr. Radison.
- 12 If Mr. Radison dares not Returne home hee may stay here, If had behaved himselfe faithfull & Constant either to English or French hee might have gone where he would.
- 13 Wee must Begg pardon that wee Cannot bee of Mr. Yonges opinnion, that Mr. Radison should bee the founder of the Compa. nor the Author of our prosperity

as he is pleased to say, But on the other hand, has been verry falce & perfidious to the Compa. & has been the ocasion of vast expences to the Compa. & has put many Inconvenienceys upon them, which noe man but him selfe could doe, & that the Compa. notwithstanding have been extreame Kind to him and all the French men hee has Recomendend to theire service tho never soe Ill deserveing, which has not amounted to Lesse then £500 in gratuities & extravagant Charges about them, ocasioned by Mr. Radisons Recomendation when in Truth, when wee came to Make use of them they never would Travell or doe any thing more then one of our owne people of 6 or £8 P. Ann. That Mr. Radison may bee an object of our pittie, If in soe meane a Condition as Represented to us; which wee can scarcely beleive, being has been soe high in his Capitulation, thinkeing wee must either give him what hee demands, or else will accept of nothing, Lett him doe his pleasure, But wee must tell him wee will not admitt of any Capitulation for our Benevolence or Charity & will bee Judges whats best to give & to whome.

And to Conclude wee thinke wee have noe Reason to depart from the opininn of the Comittee that Retrenched the £50 gratuity, yet at the Instance of the Rt. Honble. the Earle of Marleborough wee were Induced to gratifie Mr. Radison with one £50, but finding him soe Imperious & scornefull of soe small a sume as hee esteemes it, wee Lett him Know wee have more deserveing objects to Bestow it upon.

Signed

By order of the Comittee of the
Hudsons Bay Company

WM. POTTER Secretary.

Hudsons Bay House the
8th of March 1692/3

William R

William & Mary by the Grace of God King & Queen of England Scotland France & Ireland Defenders of the Faith &ca., To our Trusty & welbeloved Phillip Parsons¹ Esqe. greeting, Wee Reposing especiall Trust and Confidence In the Loyalty Courage & good Conduct, doe by these Presents Constitute and appoint you to bee Capt. of an Independant Compa. of foote to bee forth with Raised & Imployed in Hudsons Bay, for the Defence of the same against our enemies in those parts, you are therefore to take the said Compa. into your care & charge & duley exercise as well the officers as souldjers in Armes & to use your best endeavour to Keepe them in good order & dicipline, and wee doe hereby Comand them to obey you as theire Captaine, & you to Observe & follow such orders & directions from time to Time, as you shall Receive from us, The Governor & Compa. of Hudsons Bay, The Governor & Comander in cheife of Hudsons Bay for the time being, or any other your superiour officer according to the Rules & dicipline of Warr, In pursuance of the Trust wee hereby Repose In you, Given at our Court at Kensington the 17th of March 1692/3 In the Fifth yeare of our Reigne.

*His Maties.
Comission to Capt.
Phillip Parsons
to Comand an
Independant
Compa. in
Hudsons Bay*

By his Maties. Comand
NOTTINGHAM²

William R

William & Mary by the Grace of God King & Queen of England Scotland France & Ireland Defenders of the Faith

*His Maties.
Comission to*

¹ Philip Parsons (see p. 189) was recommended to the Company "as a person Qualified for accompts and otherwise" and was engaged at £50 per annum. His "securities for his fidelity" to the extent of £500, were his father, Mr. Edward Parsons, and William Haynes, Esq., Member of Parliament for Dartmouth (A.1/15, fo. 7d. et seq.). Parsons was made a prisoner when the French captured York Fort in 1694. He arrived in England by way of France in January 1696 and before going to Exeter made an affidavit "concerning the French breach of articles 1694" (A.15/4, fo. 122; A.1/18, fo. 3d., et seq.).

² Daniel Finch, second Earl of Nottingham and sixth Earl of Winchilsea (1647-1730). See *D.N.B.*

*Lieut. Samuell
Adams of the
Independant
Company In
Hudsons Bay*

&ca. To our Trusty & Wellbeloved Samuell Adams¹ Gent. Greeting, Wee doe by these Presents Constitute and Apoint you to bee Lieutenant of the Independant Company of Foote to bee forthwith Raised and employed in Hudsons Bay for the Defence of the same against our Enemys in those parts, whereof Capt. Phillip Parsons is Captaine you are therefore carefully and dilligently to discharge the Duty of Lieutenant by exercising and well disciplining both the Inferiour officers & souldjers of that Company, And wee doe hereby Comand them to obey you as theire Lieutenant, and you to observe and follow such orders & directions from time to time as you shall receive from your Captaine or any other your Superiour officer according to the Rules & dicipline of warr in pursuance of the Trust hereby reposed in you, Given at our Court at Kensington the 17th day of March 1692/3 in the fifth yeare of our Reigne

By his Matys. Command
NOTTINGHAM

*Coll. Robt.
Lancashire &
Mr. Robt.
Nicholas*

Coppy of an order of the Committee at Gravesend²

Wee doe hereby Request you to goe on Board the Shipp *Supply*³ Lying neare Shadwell Dock or Elcewhere in the River

¹ Samuel Adams received wages at the rate of £30 per annum from the time of his arrival at Albany Fort on September 1, 1693, until he left for England on August 31, 1697 (A.15/4, fo. 112, and A.15/5, fo. 11).

² A. 1/15, fo. 22d., At a Committee, June 13, 1693, "The Comittee being Informed that there was a neglect in Capt. Simsons not bring downe the Shipp *Supply* they ordered a Letter to bee Imediately dispatched to the said Capt. to Know the Reason thereof which was sent according, and afterwards upon mature deliberation, It was thought Expedient for the greater Certainty and Spedy dispatch to order Capt. Edgcombes pinace with 20 of his best hands and Pilott, to goe up and assist Capt. Simson in the bringing downe of the said Shipp, and further the Comittee made there Request to Coll. Lancashire and Mr. Nicholas that they Togeather with Capt. Edgcombe and his men aforesaid would goe up to London, to use all posible dilligence to bring downe the said Shipp to Gravesend, wth. generall orders to act as they should thinke fitt for the most Advantage of the Compa. in all perticulers Relateing thereto". Captain Simpson was dismissed and replaced by Captain Young.

³ The *Royal Mary* was bought from a "Mr. Rawworth" and the other owners for £3,021 in April 1693. The Committee then ordered that she be re-named

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of Thames, Capt. John Simson at Present Comander, & there or elce where, to make the best Enquire you can, why the said shipp hath been delayed in Proceeding to Gravesend, Wee being Informed she might have made more speed then wee understand she hath, & wee doe hereby Impower & Authorize you to take to your asistance such persons as you shall Judg fitting, & to use all posible meanes for the Bringing the said shipp to Gravesend, & generally to act & doe any other thing Relateing to that affaire as you shall Judg most for the service & Interest of the Company, given under our hands at Gravesend the 13th June 1693

SAMUELL CLARKE Dept. Governr.

THOMAS PITTS

JOHN SMITH

Governor & Councell

Your Letter of the 9th September 1692 p. Capt. Edgcomb came safe to our hands the latter end of October following wch. was in Answer to ours of the 17th June foregoing, by wich we were informed the French had made noe attempt upon you last yeare, wch. gave you oppertunity to compleate your Fortifications & at the arrivall of our ships you write twas compleated a draught of wch. we have received & as far as we understand its regular & strong and doubt not in Case of any Onsett You may defend it, We take Notice that you have made noe Allteration in the Standard of Trade wch. we earnestly expected for all considered it ought to be done, every thing standing us in double what it did in time of peace and that must be reason to all men of Understanding, to Consider the Arguments and reasons that have bin write you in this very affaire, Nay you know if we would force the Indians they must give double the price or starve. Therefore we doe againe recommend to you that you get two skins more p. Gun & soe

*Letter to Capt.
Geo. Geyer
Governr. at
Yorke Fort in
Hudsons Bay*

Supply (A.1/15, fos. 14d.-17d.). Captain Simpson was appointed to the command, but at the last moment he was replaced by Captain Young. The *Supply* was sold to Captain Leonard Edgcombe in February 1694 for £2,200 (A.1/16, fo. 9d., and A.15/4, fo. 68).

proportionable in all other Comodityes that vend there, for inducemt. to the Indians to give you more for our goods, you may make a larger present then usuall to the Cheif Capt. of Rivers and leading men; and not expect more in returne from them then formerly soe that they may be induced to advance the standard wch. will make the rest to follow theire Example the more willingly Soe that by a littell more then ordinary given away you will bring a considerable advance In the hole with them this may be done privately the Comon Indians not knowing of it, Wch. yet notwithstanding we refer to your Discretion; We are glad you gave Mr. James Knight soe quick a Dispatch being soe very late in the yeare & allsoe take Notice of the Supply you gave him wch we have noted accordingly we doe further recommend to you in Case he should write for any thing hearafter that you can posiably Spare him pray doe it & upon your advice wee will supply you the next expedition from hence, We hope your informations from the Indians about the departure of the French from the Bottome of the Bay proves true and then God Sending Capt. Knight & his ships to arive in Safety they will find but littell opposition there,¹ We take notice farther that Mr. Sincleare & 2 hands more went a long with Mr. Knight and we have discharged Your Factory of them; We must againe & more earnestly then ever recommend to you the greatest frugalyty imaginable in all maner of provisions wch. are excessive Deare all over Europe Especially all sorts of Grayne wch. are double the price they ware last yeare & for Beefe and porke the halfe dearer Then before & Such unseasonable weather we have had and like to continue that we are in great feare of a Dearth all over Europe,² Yet Notwithstanding the Dearnnes at psent we have completed your Indent³ in all things this Voyage; *we are*



¹ The French had not entirely abandoned the post on Albany River. See p. 202, n. 2.

² The year 1692 began a series of bad seasons traditionally referred to as the barren years at the close of the seventeenth century. Wheat, according to one authority, was 46s. 8d. per quarter of nine bushels, and in the following year the price rose to 67s. 8d. See Baker, *Records of the Seasons . . .*, pp. 165-6.

³ Copies of the invoices of the 1693 shipments to York Fort in *Dering* [III], and to the Bottom of the Bay in the *Supply*, are in A.24/1, fos. 99-104d.

glad that Henery Kelsey is safe returned & brought a good fleet of Indians downe with him and hope he has effected that wch. he was sent about in keeping the Indians from warring one with another, that they may have the more time to look after their trade and bring larger quantity of Furrs and other trad with them to the factory wch. you may also diswade them from when they are with you by Telling them what advantages they may make that the more furrs they bring the more goods they will be able to purchase of us; wch will enable them to live more comfortably and keep them from want in time of Scarcity, & that you inculcate into them better moralls then they yet understand; That it doth advantage them nothing to kill and destroy one another That thereby they may soe weaken themselves that the wild raveneus beasts may grow to numerous for them & Destroy those that Survive, besides if fair meanes will not prevaile You may tell them if they warr and destroy one another, those that are the occasion of it Whoever they are you will not Sell them any more Guns Powder or Shot wch. will expose them to their enemies who will have the master of them & quite destroy them from the earth; them and their wives and Childeren, wch. must work some terrour in them & that you are sent thither to keep peace amongst them; & that on the other side if they doe live peaciably & quietly without Warr You will lett them have anything you have for their support and be kind to them all and supply them with all nessesarys let there number bee never soe great These and other Arguments you may use to them as they Occur to your mind and memory. We are very Sorry you have not sent out and made some further tryall in the Whale fishing, & think you need not send out such a number of Men as you mention in your Letter 20 Men wch. is a 3d Pte. of Your Number but that if you had spared 12 at most to have navigated the *Albemarle* to Churchill River after she was come within the Rocks you might have laid her safe, & gone out with tenn hands leaveing only 2 hands to have looked after her, She being still in sight noe danger could have hapned & with the rest there mightabeen a Considerable Quantity of Fish taken that would have helped in this extremity of time, for their wages, whether Fishing or Sleeping is the

same & twould have brought in Something however or have discovered further into the North you know we have a longing Desire to find out Especially Bufflow River, of wch. Place we had the highest commendations Imaginable both from French and Indians for plenty of the Largest & Deepest Furred Bevorskins; and as for Whale fishing wee doe apprehend and beleve that the while [white] whales Doe nott Come constantly to one River, but if not in one River may find them in another They allwayes follow the fry of Fish & may be easily folowed and Found out, We know allso that Fishing trade is Cheapr. in times of peace then in warr but being at that Distance from our Enemyes we appreehend but littell danger from them, Nor is it worth theire whiles, yet one Tunn of Oyle now is worth more then two in times of peace & wee are scenciabie there needs not such Artts as you think for striking Netting & taking those fish, Capt. Young tho never In Greenland in his life, for the time he was in Churchill River he struck and took as many Whales as the Harponier,¹ that we gave double wages, & soe did some of his men doe the like, for its a slight of hand and noe great art, besides it differs totally from that work of taking the great Whales this is a plesure & all the men delight in taking them making it a sport and not a Labor or toyle. We think it would be noe great Difficulty for the Indians to bring downe the Castorium Seeing it lyes in a very Little Roome and as for Quantity that they may bring we know that every Beavor Meale or Female has 2 of these stones In the Back, That thare are Fifty times as many as they bring downe Cast away by the Indians & comes to nothing We will rather allow you to give somthing more for them then hitherto you have done, if that will animate them to bring the more Nay rather then faile we would have them leave some of theire Coate Beavor or worst Skins behind them then the Castorium and would desire you to Specify in your Invoyce how many paire of Castor Codds you put in to a chest or Cask for this last yeare Wee came short 20 lb. of the wtt. you menciond. therefore Lett us have the Number of Codds you send as well as the weight, the value being to us more then beavor by wich

¹ See p. 119. The harpooner was Edward Mills (see p. 10).

you may pceve how desirous we are to have the Quantity encreased & as for mineralls & dying Stuff, if they find any a littell of a sort will content us at first till they meet with something that is of value then we will take care how to get it downe if soe Bulkey that the Indians cannot bring it, We have reced. those Sampeles you sent p. Capt. Edgecomb but can find noe great worth in them. Now Wee fully understand Governor Gyars Resolution of comeing for England by the returne of these ships accordingly wee have made provision for it and constituted by your recommendation Mr. Thomas Walch to be Governor in his place whome wee order to be sworne Into that station Imediatly, upon the Capts. having signed bills of Loading for their Cargoes homeward bound, and as soone as the new Governor is sworne we order him to call a Counsell at wich time he is to adminester the Inclosed Oath to all the Officers & Servants in the factory not yett Sworne we have sent over a Gentelman of Good Eeducation for Deputy Governor One Capt. Philip Persons & doubt not but he will answer Expectations in executing that Charge and Trust, As for any men you have there that are Slothfull Drones or from home you can expect noe service Pray send them home for England & others that are vigorous nimble and willing & will doe what they are bid may continue there, But if any Quarrilous or Unruly given to Faction or the like above all returne them home, tho never soe good hands for we will not Indure any factions or Grumbling psons there; Apprehending the evill Consequences that may happen by Discord & Divisions amongst you & know likewise the good frut of a good harmony & Concord. We Expect upon the Arrivall of our Ships that you be assisting in their Unloading and that they goe noe heigher then needs must & that they be Dispatched with all convenient speed as well those home wards bound as that to the bottome of the Bay & that all goods marked Ψ now on board the ships whether expressed in the bill of Ladeing & Invoyce or not be taken into your Factory & those of this Marke AR be sent to the bottome of the Bay & hope the like was observed the last yeare & that Nothing be be left on board and returned wch. if there was any omision last yeare wee have

not heard of any thing that did come back soe hope you recd. all things sent you.

Indeed by reason of the great Difficulty we ware under the last yeare & the hurry of Busines at the last for Intruth we ware afraid we should not have got the Ships out, Wee are fearefull there was left out of the Invoyce many things that ware Shipt both for Your Fort, as alsoe for the bottome of the Bay, wich before time was never omitted nor shall for the future if possiably we can help it What Stores and provisions the Commanders can att any time spare you, you may take into the Factory Giveing a Receipt for them to the Captaines & pray mention the same in your Letters & Journall you send home That the Commander may be discharged for the same att their Arrivall here, Though there growes noe Turpentine a bout the Factory the Ground being low and Swampy yet we are of Opinion that upon higher ground espesially upon the Hills there are large Trees that doe afford it, wich might easily be Discovered without much trouble or hazard if 2 or 3 good Travelers would under take it in Sumer time when fowle and deare come your Way with what provisions they can carry with them from the Factory might travell a month right out One way one Yeare and another way a nother Yeare & they might have directions from the Indians whare such trees grow and soe esily Discover that & probably other things too. We will not suffer any trade With the Indians but what is for the Companyes Account and therefore pray make a Strict Scrutiny therein, and returne their names whomsoever they are As for French brandy there is none to be had in England nor suffered to be brought in Nay if it weare suffered, theres such Scarcity of it in France that they will nither suffer that or Wine to be Exported thence, Therefore pray make much of that you have for we knowe not when we Shall send you more its privatly sould heare for ten or 12s. p. Gallon, Some spirits are Disstilled in England but the materiells wherewith its made are soe scarce & the high Imposicions upon it makes it Excessive deare some of it was sent you two yeares agon but we heard noe Commendations from you of it, we are afraid it will not keep a yeare about tho the disstillers affirme twill keep 7 yeares.

Wee are hartily sorry for the death of any of our Servts. Especially Mr. Benett whose parts we very well know & are assured that we should have had a faithfull Servant of him; yett we know there are none without failings his frinds have binn often with us to know what is become of the things he left behind him and you giveing us noe Acct. last yeare we could give them noe satisfactory Answer and therefore we Expect by the returne of our ships An Acct. of the hole that his frinds may have the product and in deed if we did not take care of these things how would goe into our service if they thought in case of death his frinds Should not have what he left and therefore wee expect a just Acct. in Case of Mortallity & require all things be entered in your Book & sould pblickly in the factory & a just Acct. rendered unto us at all times in order that the relations of the Decesed may receive theire due.

And for the future we are of opinion that its not Convenient that you suffeour Seamen to chang births with any land men without our Leave; they taking the advantage to stay there upon most Intollerable high Wages and doe noe more service then those that have a 3d soe much besides if the Govermt. should take Notice that wee Detained more Seamen in our Service then wee have reall occasion for, itt may prove prejudicall to us Therefore send home soe many as you can spare of those att the highest wages not doubting but you will provide for the preservation of the Factory; We recommended to you last yeare the *getting of Sea Horse Teeth wch. wee understand are in great plenty upon some Ilands & Sands* that are neare you and in the Bay & *when you prosecute the Fishing trade those places may be viseted & with great ease procured;* & if upon the opening of the Rivers you went out with a Slope or with the *Albemarle* According as you saw most convenient they might Stay out till the time that our ships are expected or in time of peace as long as the weather will permitt them & soe yeare by yeare they must needs discover somthing more then hitherto we know, however we are at noe more charge then if they Slept in the Factory all the while There are noe Turkey pipes to be had upon any Termes but the long beads are sent You.

It is not our desires that the ships stores should be mixt with those for the Factory, they are mark with different Markes & those for the Factory are entered in the Invoyses.

Halfstead¹ whome you sent home is a Stout Fellow & hardy lad else Would not have grown soe much since he went hence Such psons you ought not to Suffer to depart the Countrey till their times be expired but those that are sickly and weak you may send home.

The Indian² We retorne you and if you find him not Servicable in travelling working &c. Pray send him to the Bottome of the Bay where he will be out of the Acquaintance Porte Nelson Indians.

The Iron Stoves are now sent you and every thing According to your directons with all the apuretenaces but our Deputy Governor³ whoe hath lived 20 yeares in Cold Countreyes is of an opinion you had better have them Smaller then bigger then the first Except you have very large Roomes indeed for the heat of them if too hot made will affect the head & cause some distempers among you except you have a Casemt. of 3 Inches broad and 4 long made in the top of one window to open in case of any bad smell or too much heat wch. may often happen & one quarter of a hour will purifie the Roome againe if left open & that you take care you doe not Scutt the Scutt to soone wch. if you doe before the Wood be holly burnt, to a cole without any smoake it will Suffocate and much Damage the Braine. We recommend to your great care that noe Damage by fire happen by the stoves for if there be any timber worke neare them it will soone take fire therefore pray be verry carefull that you heat them moderately and open the doore before they make to much flame.

There might be some Defect in Some Meale last yeare in the greatest Care there may happen Some misfortunes but you may be Ashured that we will take all the care Imaginable & tis our Intrest soe to doe for wee pay as much for it as for the Sweetest.

¹ George Holstead. See p. 79, n. 2.

² Presumably " Batt ". See p. 199.

³ Samuel Clarke, first elected Deputy Governor in November 1692.

Without your advice we had sent noe Brass Pans indeed for Guynney there goe from hence many but wee never heard that they went to any Cold Counteryes before Therefore the fault is your one if they vend not. Wee Take Notice what Guns you have mentioned & the workes you have made for your Defence wch. is very well, but except the Men within doe use them with Corage & prudence they will not defend themselves but we hope and rest assured you will not be wanting in any respect to defend the Fort if occation should offer.

Wee Wonder that Much That amongst all the Seamen that have stayed with you there some two some 3 Yeares and more that you should not have a person fit to command the *Albemarle* and more Especially now she is not gone ten Miles from the Factory We apprehend there needs noe great Artice to Saile her soe farr and back to the Fort Nay we think you should have Experience Seamen Severall might Saile her to Churchill River and back because we understand they need not be out of Sight of Land.

The Two geese you sent we thank you for them & this far in answer to Your Letter.

Wee found att the opening of Some bundells of Parchmt. Beavor severall Skins wanting there being but 26 Skins in them for the future be exact in the tale of them for we doe not know whome to charge with them but but your remisnesse in telling of them when they weare packt and heareafter pack 50 skins instead of 30 lett the Skins of each bundele be as Sysable as you can or else the smallest may be easily pluckt out; but if you must be forced to pack Small & great to gether then lett the smaller be in the midele; There has bin many mistakes made by the last yeare bills of Exchange drawne upon by our Servants in heaving the Governors hand by them notwithstanding former orders to the contrary therefore we againe give you in charge to Accquaint our peple that we will pay noe Bill wch. shall not have the Governors hand to it we allsoe order you to be verry Cautious in suffering any to runn in our Debts above theire wages due to them.

We are Yearly at vast charges for Casks there fore for the future we expect you send home all such Caskes as can be

spared as allsoe those broken binding up the staves and heads together loading in every ship a proporcon as they are in bigness. As for the Service Henery Kelsey has done us in travelling up into the Countrey You being imediate Judges of his demerits we leave it to your discretion to gratifie him for the same.

Pray let Edward Stacy send a Letter of Attorney to his Master Capt. Hurloce to receive the wages that was due to him when the time of Service to his Master is Expired.

We would have you when any Ship is with you bound to the bottome of the Bay to Send theither some of those goods that you are over stored with & cannot Sell, and lett us know the Quantities as allsoe the Qualities you doe send that you may have credit for them.

Wee find few of our Gunn Chest returned wch. Cost us considerably every yeare therefore the future as they are emtyed Send them home filled with Coate Beavor.

If you have many Wolfes or ravenous Beasts that will Destroy Cattle about the Factory Wee recommend to you to destroy them totally, As alsoe to encorage the Indians to doe the like, for we are resolved by Gods help to send some Cowes Goates and Swine the next yeare not Doubting but they may be manintained and fed there very well & therefore desire that a Convenient house in some Dry warme place may be built to putt them in against they arive provided you doe not find upon mature deliberation the climate altogether imposeble for their Subsistance & that one or two with Doggs and guns may attend them in the Day time as long as they can feed a broad and housed every night and wached by one or two for their better Security & that food may be provided for them as soone as they arive next Yeare. We have sent you Sythes forkes &t. to cut and make hay with where of we understand there is enough not farr from the Factory for one Hundread head of Cattell and more and therefore we expect you to make provision accordingly for 16 or 18 Cowes for the hole winter till spring comes on againe & we know if we can keep great Cattell Swine and goats may easily be kept wch. if we can bring to pass as we are moraly ashurd for Findland and

Lapland are as Cold and colder & more barren & unfrutfull & much Longer Nights then at Yorke fort and yett at those places Cattell are mainetained and it wd. be of great advantage both to the Factory and us to have Cattell mainetained at Yorke fort in case of any miscarriage of our ships as allsoe the benefitt you will have of freesh provisions.

Wee desire a bottle or two of that Juyce that you tap out of the trees wch. you mixt with your drink when any one is troubled with the Scurvey¹ or if you have plenty of it that you would send more with Directions how you use it there.

We have sent you all manner of Seeds for a garden wch. we Doubt not but you will Improve now you see the conveniency of Rootes and Gardening herbs with a book giving the best directions how to use them. You must sow them in sundery sorts of Ground that you may see which will prove best to bring them to perfection; And to raise a heighth of Ground or Hedge of reeds or some Fenc to keep the Norwest wind from them and then there is noe Doubt of theire comming to pfection as well as in any pte. of Sweeden & Norway you having already had great benifitt by what you have sewed.

And likewise we recommend to you the the sowing Corne we have sent you of all graines some as for wheat you may sow a Gallon in one place and a Gallon in another Asoone as the ships come it must be sowed under furrow as Termed in

¹ In his "Observations on Hudson's Bay" [1775], Andrew Graham wrote: "Miniheg. The Pine both red and white are plentiful on the Coasts of Hudson's Bay from 60 to 51 Degrees of Latitude . . . We use the Spruce of it in brewing instead of Hops; and it makes a pleasant and healthy Liquor" (E.2/9, fo. 51). Bell, in his "Report on Hudson's Bay . . .", 1879-80, p. 44C, identifies the White Spruce, Single Spruce, Sea Spruce (*Albies alba*, Michx.) as the "Pine of the Hudson's Bay Company's people". The map accompanying the report shows the distribution of the White Spruce and also indicates that the White Cedar (*Thuja occidentalis*) grows at Moose Fort, near the mouth of Rupert River, but at some distance from Albany Fort. The White Cedar, according to Dr. Jacques Rousseau (*Jacques Cartier et "La Grosse Maladie"*) was the "annedda" tree of Jacques Cartier. When wintering 1535-36 on the site of the present city of Quebec Cartier's men were beset by scurvy. On the advice of an Indian he treated them successfully with a decoction of the leaves and bark of the tree "Annedda".

England that it may be att least 4 or 5 Inches under the earth when dug & laid hollow Lett the event be what it will it matters not, You will see in Aprill whether it comes up or not if it doth come up and proves to ranck when you see it soe you may mow the top of it of; if it be not rank then lett it grow on in Gods name.

Then in the Spring as soone as you can gett the spade into the ground sow againe of wheat Barley Oates Beanes and pease but must not be soe deep in the Earth not above 2 Inches and $\frac{1}{2}$ & sow them in severall places & when you see them come up you must brake the Clods and make them lye fine but the beanes and pease you need need not be soe curious in lett the event be what it will lett it be done.

If all be lost the loss is to us & noe body else But if it should take, what comfort will it be to those that inhabit there, as you find by the turnips already for such rich Mould as has laine fallow it may be from the Creation cannot chuse but bring forth stroingly expecially where such plenty of Snow is all the winter wch. keep every thing warme & is as we say in England the Poore mans Dung.

Wee must put you in mind of one generall fault that is in Omitting to give us the Dimension of things you write for nor for what use they are wch. may Occation us to heap up a great quantity of goods to noe purpose, for it is ten to one whether we hitt the right Sort, as for instance you write now for 2 rings of Iron wyer One small and another great whether you know it not there are 20 and more Sizes of Iron wyer what shall we doe in this Case if we send none you will say you are neglected if we send they may not be the right sort and soe worth nothing to you & then soe much is lost and it is in many other commoditys that you give us noe advice nither in Size Sort quality or quantity wch. is a grand fault & pray let it be amended. You mention ppetuanes¹ but say not what color, soe that we can but guese whether we send the right or noe. If we know the use we might come nearer to your Desires But consider what a Confusion you put us in when things are not

¹ Perpetuana was a durable fabric of wool manufactured in England from the sixteenth century. See *O.E.D.*

duly exprest And this has been allwayes your Defect tho often putt in mind of it Yett you neglect it.

If when you come to want any thing you putt it forthwith into a Memorad. Book the commodity quality & quantity of it & for what use & then put it into your Indent at last it would make every thing easy to us & you too, & that you doe not defer the Writing of your Generall Letter soe long & soe late as you doe; Wich makes things done in a hurry & then there is nothing done well or else something is forgotten We would know what you doe with the Shot Baggs We find not that any one Indian byes the Quantaty of a Bagg, soe they cannot neade them and if they are used to any other use in the Factory will rather send you Linnen Cloth butt we will have the Baggs returned us every Yeare and put into a chest or Box and the Number mentioned in the Invoice & soe of all Casks whither broken or hole returned and the like for gun Chests We have sent you some flax & hemp seeds wch. we will allsoe have sowed upon ground most sutable to it & for directions we reffer you to the printed Booke now sent you.

Mr. Knight We find will have occation for 2 or more Carpenters att the Bottome of the Bay wch. we feare we shall not be able to send him this Voyage Therfore desire you to send 2 or what you can possibly spare We conclude your works is done is there & hope you may spare all you have for one Yeare the nex yeare he may returne them to you a gaine if occation require it.

Wee doe appoint for your Councell for the next yeare Mr. Tho. Walch Govenor Capt. Philip Persons Depyt. Govenor Mr. John Lawson Mr. Hugh Verner Mr. Pearse¹ with Mr. Thomas Anderson² & if you want more & find ingenious men

¹ According to A.15/4, fo. 56, John Pierce or Pearse was commander of the *Albemarle* from September 6, 1691, to September 6, 1693.

² On May 31, 1693, the Committee "were pleased to Entertaine Mr. Thomas Anderson A Clergeman in the Compies. service for 4 years at the Rate of £40 p. Ann. his wages to Comence from his departure from Gravesend" (A.1/15, fo. 21). Anderson was made a prisoner when the French captured York Fort on October 4, 1694. Father Marest, the French missionary, remarked "Their [the Englishmen's] minister had drawn up the capitulation in Latin and I was interpreter on our side" (Tyrrell, *Docs. Rel. to the Early History of Hudson*

qualified thereto, we leave it to the Mjority of the 6 Nominated to elect him or them into your Councell to reside there We allsoe appoint both our Commanders Capt. Edgcomb & Capt. Young allsoe the Commander or Commanders of of the ship or ships from the Bottome of the Bay during there stay there to be of they Councell. We doe heareby further impower the Governor for the time being to remove from his Councell any person or psons as he shall Judge unfitt for that station he giveng us an acct. of the cause of such removeall if any shall happen not Doubting his Justice and moderation in Excerciciseing this Authority.

We have said before that there was sent you some spirits about 2 yeares Since wch. we understand you make noe use of therefore if they are not for your service pray returne them by these ships in tite and well bound Caskes as allsoe all other goods that are unvendible with you and put them into your Invoyses the Quantyty and Quality that we may discharg the Factory of them. We cannot but much wonder that you yearly write for axhelves for in the first place we send you noe Axheads & what you should doe with the helves without the heads we cannot imagine except they use them for hatchet Staves and then hatchett staves wch. cost but halfe the money would serve the turne as well.

In the next place we doe as much admire that in such a vast tract of Ground the Indians travell and soe full of wood as it is that they could not find a peice of wood fitt to make an axhelve of; These things seeme very strang to us, and the like for deale boards wch. you may as we are informed saw enough for the Factory if it weare 5 times as big as it weare wch. Deales are very incomodious to us to Ship they take up more roome then we can spare and in truth the freight is twice as much as the deales are worth; pray faile not to send to the Bottome of the

Bay, p. 120). Anderson apparently died near Dinant in France whilst still a prisoner. Administration of his estate was granted to Robert Lancashire (see p. 143, n. 2) on June 9, 1696. It is not known if Anderson was identical with the Thomas Anderson of Magdalene College, Cambridge, who obtained his B.A. degree in 1684 and his M.A. degree in 1688 (*Graduati Cantabrigienses 1659-1823*).

Bay 2 dossen of brass & 2 dossen of Iron wyer handcuffs & if you can spare them more, & if you write for more next shipping they shall be sent you We find by your sales last yeare that you have above 3 yeares Stores there soe that you may well spare Governor Knight 2 or 3 Dosse, We allsoe desire you to send Governor Knight 6 dossen of Tin Shoos¹ he writing for them & we find you have a great over plus in Your Factory.

We have promised Batt the Indian when he returned to you a laced Coat if you have none that's fitt for him you may make him one you having lace & Cloth to doe it heaveing given him what other things he desired heare.

We now recommend againe to you the *sending home of what feathers you can gett such as are fitt for beds & to keep the Geese feathers* apart they being a very good commodity in England this warr time We hope you may the next yeare make a begining & send us halfe a dozen Baggs we meane only such as are fitt for beds except *you find the Goose Quills to be fitt for pens & if soe returne as many as you can* there of likewise we refer the Gratuety to be given to those of the factory that gett the Feathers to the Discretion of the Councell but those brought by the Indians theres noe reason we should allow any thing for them because they are bought of the Indians & we hope you may procure quantities.

We are informed that there may *be both turpentine and Tarr procured with you* if soe *pray use your endeavor to procure it* they both being very deare with us especially the former and as to Mr. Lawsons Accompt we have taken care to rectyfie the Error of £10 & made it good to him & allsoe his last Yeares wages is Cast up and allowed him at the rate of £40 p. am. which is his established wages in the compas. Bookes.

We have sent you some Cole seed used cheifly in the East Countrey and is a very holesome Pottherb and very good against the Scurvey boyled with your salt meat it makes it more fresh and holesome, this Cole seed must be planted in the spring of the yeare when the wether begins to be warme on a bank side neare the South under a shelter of some walke

¹ Looking glasses. See *H.B.S.*, V, 100.

pales or hedge a span distance one from another as you plant beanes when growne up neare a foot high. You must transplant them into a larger feild that is good and fatt att a foot Distance they will ripen and be fitt for use.

If these Cole seeds be planted with large French Beanes they need not be replanted but then must be planted a foote distance; The healthfullest plant in the hole world especially to make broth of.

This Cole when grown & come to pfection wch. will be att soonest in Octobr. and will keep most part of the winter under the Snow soe that it may be gethered as its used it may be cut very small as herbs to the Pott, & soe putt in the pott and boyled with a peec of Pork or fatt Peece of Beefe it will make excelent broth and freshen the Meate or it may be stewed alone with Gravy of Beefe or Butter seasoned to your Pallatts with a littell spice put into it. In both ships are Sythes Rakes forkes Spads & hoes One third part of wch. are desined for the use of the Factory and the other two thirds wee desire may be to the Bottome of the Bay wch. pray forward accordingly.

Wee desire a perticular accout. of the Disposall of that large Supply of Brandy & Leafe Tobacco &c. sent you last yeare our intentions & Resolutions being to send over suficient Quantities of Brandy sugar Clouthes &ca. that soe the compa. may holely supply the Factory Instead of others hoping thereby to lesen the extravagant wages of our Servants which is practised in all companies Factoryes whatsover. In order pray advice What Quantities of each may be proper to send next shipping.

We had sent you a farr greater Supply of Barrill [Brazil] Tobacco had not the ship in which it was Consined to us come to a Mischance which Ocasioned its not ariveing before the departure of our ships as allsoe the same by the Irish Brouges.

Wee would have the Compans. Pakett made up for the futur in double paper Covers & not in a Trunke as formerly the poastage being 2s. an ounce wch. occationed the last poststage to amount to Twelpe pounds for that pakett only Lett the contents of the pakett for the time to come be only the

JUNE 17, 1693

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Generall Letter Invoice Bills of Loading and Signall all the Letters Bookes &ca. in a Packett distinct we remaine wishing you all health & prosperity.

Your Lo. Freinds

SAMUELL CLARKE Depty. Govenor

THO. PITTS

ROBT. LANCASHIRE

JOHN SMITH

ROBT. NICHOLAS

London 17 June 1693

Governr. Knight & the Rest of the Councell

Yours of the 2d of Sept. 1692 Brought us the good news of the arivall of all our ships at Hayes River the 29 of August Last past & that you found Yorke fort in a very good Posture & the peple all in good health, & that you had bin informed there had bin a very good Trade that Yeare, for all wch. blesings we desire to be truly thankfull to Almighty God, not doubting his farther Blessings upon the diligent care and prudence of those wee committ our affairs to, Ashuring you wee shall not be wanting in our kindness to reward every one tho in the Meanest station amongst you that by any extorrdinary Service shall merit att our hands, & doubt not of your Justice in your recommendation of them to us in your Letters when they retorne & on the other hand wee desire you to sett a marke upon all that are slothfull quarelous & cause divisions amongst you, & to Returne home their names.

We take notice that upon your informeing Governr. Geyer of your designe for the Bottome of the Bay he acquainted you that the Indians told him that the French had totally deserted all the Factories there and burnt them & were gone for Canada, Butt afterward he was informed by other Indians that they had not altogether left the Bay but weare settled 40 Leagues to the Northward of Albany River att a place called Rackescoe which if soe we are of your opinion itt may in some measure Prejudice our Trade at Hayes River Butt we hope

they have left all However we are well pleased to heare of your hops & resolution to Remove them thence, God granting you life and health which wee hartily desire & pray for, And doubt not since Capt. Ticketucky¹ as Mr. Walsh informes you Retaynes his old frindship towards you & longs to see you att the Bottom of The Bay againe may be very instrumentall not only in Reducing the Countrey butt recovering the hole Trade againe allsoe.

And we hope twas not Long after the date of your Letter that you arrived there with the rest of the fleett, which God grant and then by his blessing wee may in Due time heare that we are Reestated² in the Bay & the Confidenter we are thereof, Because you have the Conduct of that affaire.

¹ B.3/d/1, fo. 15d., Albany Fort accounts, "June 29th [1693] At Albany Fort Sent a Present to Tick a tuckey the great Leading Indian of this River of 60 lb. shott 10 lb. Powder & 3 brazeel tobacco Jully the 7th Tick a tuckey haveing recd. the welcome news of our repossession wch. upon intelligence over Land from Port Nelson of Our beeing upon the Coast he Lay expecting to the Northward arrived here to day to Both his and our very great satisfaction and the Govr. knowing wt. service he is able to do the Compy. to show our esteem of him and that his old friendship rather augmented then diminished made a further Present to him of

30 lb. shott	} wch. he accepted of very cheerefully & we question not but he will prove as cordiall to our interest as ever."
9 lb. Powder	
a Copper kettle of 10 lb.	
4 lb. of brazeel tobacco &	
a new gun of 4 foot	

² Knight's force spent the winter of 1692-93 at Gilpin Island, off the Eastmain coast. See p. 228, and the reproduction of Samuel Thornton's 1709 map in *The Beaver*, Autumn, 1956, p. 20. No detailed account of Knight's recapture of Albany Fort has survived in the Company's archives, but in the minutes of the Committee meeting held on November 29, 1693 (A.1/16, fo. 4) it was recorded that Captain Grimington had "brought home wth. him as a prisner one Simon Pertue a French man borne at Ange on the River Loir Taken at Albany Fort". The Frenchman stated that "Monsr. Le Meux was Governr. . . . at Mr. Knights takeing that Factory with 3 men more besides himselfe & that about 3 weekes or a month before there was 21 men more Traveled over Land to Canada by reason of scarcity of Provisions". According to Father Marest (Tyrrell, *Docs. Rel. to the Early History of Hudson Bay*, p. 105 et seq.), the ship carrying provisions to the French in Albany River was unable to reach the Bay in 1692 because of contrary winds. By the time Knight advanced on the post in June 1693 the greater part of the garrison had perished from hunger or illness, and of

And wee Ashure you that on our Part there shall be Nothing wanting towards the furthering the Execution thereof And as a manifest token thereof wee have now in every Respect commpleted and sent your Indent,¹ Nay over done it to in sundry things as you will see by the Invoyses of provisions and stores we have now sent you & in truth it weare great folly & madness in men not to prosicute that wch. was began with such vast Charge & Trouble If it ware for our owne benefitt & reputation but we have a farther obligation upon us to be just to you & the Compa. with you that wtever comes of it you shall att all times be supplied with Every thing thats nesenary as well for prosecution of the Designes as for the Conservation of it when obteyned.

Yett must lett you know that all manner of provisions are Double the price they weare at this time twelfe Month therefore we highly recomend to your Care and prudence the

the eight people remaining the surgeon and Father Dalmas had been murdered by the "smith who made all sorts of tools". When the English attacked many were killed and wounded, and the Frenchmen escaped to the woods. Three died, and two, after much hardship, reached Montreal. Father Marest did not know what the English had done with the smith. It is probable that the prisoner "Simon Pertue" was the murderer. According to the Company's accounts two men, Peter Brote and William Alexander, were killed in the action which took place on June 22, 1693 (English Style). The exact number of English wounded is not known, but they included George Baley of the *Royal Hudson's Bay* and "Capt. [Henry] Bayley & others belonging to the *Prosperous*" (A.15/4, fos. 60, 62, 125).

¹ See p. 186, n. 3, and p. 229, n. 1. "An Inventory of the Goods for trade" sent to Albany, as well as a very detailed record of their expenditure at Gilpin Island (which they left on June 1, 1693), Cape Hope, Moose River and Albany Fort will be found in B.3/d/1. According to the same source (fo. 15d.) the "Beavor and other firrs" left at Albany by the French and taken possession of by Knight amounted to

" 15434	Coat Beavor skins
12815	Whole Phmt. ditto
2213 $\frac{1}{2}$	in 4427 half Phmt. ditto
572 $\frac{1}{4}$	in 2289 marten
238 $\frac{1}{2}$	in 477 Otter
18 $\frac{1}{2}$	in 37 fox &
3	in 3 Cattskins

31294 $\frac{3}{4}$ ".

Expending of them for if the unseasonable wether we have lattly had should long continue there would hardly any Somer Corne be sowed wch. God forbid for a dearth in Europe would certainly follow upon it, therefore againe we reccomend to you to be verry frugall in the expence thereof.

Wee are glad that you give us that ashurance that the out works of your fortification shall be ready this next fall & hope the timber will be cut and brought to the Factory Ready to worke upon by the retorne of the shippes from Yorke fort wee have recomended it to that Goverment to spare you what Carpenders & other artificers they can spare tho they returned the next fall to them againe.

Wee hope you will send two ship for Port Nellson If can be spared, & the biggest viz Capt. Grimingtons to retorne with our other shippes which will much augment our strength home, & the Lesser wee think will be bigg Enough to carry downe your goods & provisions which shipp of Capt. Grimingtons will alsoe be of singular service to us the next Yeare. If it please God she arrive well heare then we shall have ships suficient of our owne to supply our occasions the next season which we had not this therefore we are forced to buy another.¹

But if you doe not see Reason to send Two shippes for Hayes River this spring for feare of weaking your selfe to Much att once, wee hope your intentions are that as soone as that ship you doe send to Hayes River to fetch your provisions & stores is arrived with you that you will then forthwith dispatch one ship from the Bottome of the Bay directly for England & not to touch att Hayes River which wee desier may bee Capt. Grimingtons ship which is of best defence & that you send with her as many hands you can spare Especially those of the highest wages wch. we suppose to bee seamen, Reserving only soe many hands as may navigate your shippes & we hope the next yeare you will be in a Capasity to spare and send home an other shipp, & that the *Perry* a lone may be sufficient for you But this we must referr to your discesion, As to Mr. Fullerton hee may rest ashured of the Promise of the Committe they not doubting of his sutable returns Wee are

¹ The *Supply*. See p. 184, n. 3.

hartily Glad there is such a good harmony amongst the commanders of our ships yourselefe & that you are well satisfied with them which wee hope doth still Continue, discord and Quarreling never produceth any good efect. As to Mr. Sincleare your Deputy we know he is a man of good education & parts, & we hope as he finds our respects & kindness Increase towards him we may find an answarable returne from him of goods consined you Last Yeare the things you mention Left out of the Invoyce we find to have bin bought & Shippt heare soe doubt not but att the unloading of your shippes they have bin found however we have now sent those you mention againe for feare of the worst & ashure our seleves that if you have any thing more then you can make use of you will seek to preserve them without damage till you may have occasion for them.

You have the number of Sythes now sent with all appertenance thereto as allsoe forkes Rackes & ctt. hoping you will give us Encoragement the next Expedition to send you Cowes Goats & swine & if the first may be kept there as we doubt not, wee know the rest will follow in Cource, Your next may informe us what Cattell you desire, And wee think it nesenary that you build for them warme houses with Racks for to eat theire Hay out of as allsoe Racks to stand without doores when it may be seasonable to turne them out in Winter time of Dry and sunshine.

As to standerd of Trade wee cannot precribe you rules therein But however we of offer you our reasons as followeth, first we are of an oppinion *that you Exact not upon the Indians to make them leave you and goe to the French but that you bee as kind as may bee Especially att first & in Perticular to those of any Eminencey amongst them* as Tiketuckey & other & other Captaines of Rivers which may be done rather by presents then abatements in price of goods & these May be some arguments to Use to them why they must not expect our goods att the former price as in times of peace.

First that the warr in Europe makes every thing deare both for trading goods & provisions Next the Warr occasions us to come with greater ships & three times the number of men

which is a farther Charge upon the Compa. then our Hazeard is greater & more Dangerous, some ships must In a long War fall into the enimes hands & Yett we Run all these hazards undergoe all these dificultyes to bring them guns &ca. to keep them alive Next that those Indians that travell for Hayes River have noe Cheaper tho there Journeys be twice as farr as those southerne Indians that come to Albany River.

Then that provisions at Yorke fort as geese Partradges Deere &ca. are abundently more plentifull then at Albany River which the Indians bring in great plenty to them therefore we are forced to bring more provisions to you then to Yorke fort which causeth a greater Charge to us.

And farther we have heard that the *French did not Treat the Indians nothing neare soe kindly as wee Did before they came there but have kept them to hard meate & made them pay as much or more then they pay us*, at Hayes River only two or three Leading Indians they did incorage but for the Rest they Treated them like Doggs & this we have heard from some that weare prisoners there, & that they cheated them in tale of goods & forced them to take what they weare plesed to give them.

And for a further arguement if the French have given them more in their trade then we did it was because they surprisd our peple & Factories & stole all our goods from us which they might part withall att Low prices being the goods Cost them nothing.

These & such Like Reasons which will occour to your Memory at times you may urge to them why you cannot sell them cheaper then those sold at Hayes River & to make them beleve you must Leave the Countrey agine if you cannot gett those prises.

Butt in fine we must and doe leave the manigment of trade to you being upon the Place therefore best able to Judge of it.

Thus much in answer to your Letter.

Then in the next place we desire you pack allwayes 50 parchent skins in a bundell & noe less which will some what Lesen our Charges & lett the skins be eaqually sorted for bigness in Every bundell if not, putt the least in the midle, when any of our servants draw any bills upon us first see

whether their accounts will bare it & lett the Governors hand be sett thereto, Elce we shall not accept them.


We desire you to returne all empty Caske & if by any accident there be any broken to bind up the staves & heads together & Returne them it can be spared, And if it should happen any of your men be dead (which God forbid) by accident or otherwise that that you Returne to us there names & the time of their death, & Cause all their Cloathes & effects to be sould publickly keeping acctts. there of a Coppy of wch. transmitt to us that we may be Exact in paying what shall be due to their Executors & this we would have done for the encoragment of all persons that are or shall be in our service, And that in your future indents you Mention the Quantity Quality & nature of all stores goods provisions that you desire which was omitted in severall things In your last Indent pticularly in the shott for the great Guns of your Factory.

Wee desire all the Gun Chests that are emty may be Returned to us paking in them what you think most Convenient for its a continuall great Charge to us & they signifie nothing with you but to light fires &ca.

And as for the guns we sent you if any defect be discovered or should prove bad in any kind whatsoever Lett us have the Gunsmiths names which are upon the Locks Returne to us with the faults whether in stok lock or Barrells.

We must *encorage you to send all the Castorum or Beavor Codds you can gett it is as good as any furr pound for pound* wee understand that every Beavor has a paire of these stones in his back soe hope you may send us Yearly as many paire as you send skins & you may by some small presents Encorage the Indians to bring them downe & not cast them away which they generally doe & when you pack them beshure you tell how many paire is in a Cask or Chest & mention that as well as the wight in your Invoyses & bills of Loading.

That you encorage the Indians to destroy the wolves & Revenous beasts Every wheare especially neare the factory that our Cattell when there may be in safty & that you build houses substantiall for them that the Woules cannot breake in & destroy them at Each Cross Corner there must be a



watch house for a man to lye in that he may command with his Gunn one Corner and one side & with a dog within may presevere them for most certainly the Woules will attempt them a draught where of you have in the Margent. The Cow house may be built soe broad that two Rowes of Cowes may be stalled up with Yoaks &ca. that they brake not loose to hurt one another & the house may be built upon Raiseing ground Thached one end upon the Highest Ground & the other end Lower then the watter will run of the Dung the esier Carried out upon wheel Barrowes there must be made Racks in the Yeard for Hay as well as in the house where they may be put in dry & sunshiney Dayes althoe in Winter to refresh their limbs & feed there, we have sent you Hemp & flax seed with all sorts of Garden seeds & all sorts of Graine with directions how to sow & Cultivate them in a printed Booke pray returne all your shot Baggs for thats a Continuall yearly Charge if you have occasion for Linen we will rather send it you in hole peces.

And if you think you may have noe Occasion for the Morter peice Bumbs & things thereunto belonging we desire you to send them home againe.

And likewise we recommend to you the sowing Corne wee sent you of all graines some as for wheat you may sow a Gallon in one place & a Gallon in another asoone as the ships Come it must be sowed under furrow as Termed in England that it may be att least 4 or 5 Inches under the earth when dug and laid hollow lett the event be what it will it matters nothing. You will see in Aprill whether it will come up or not if it doth come up and proves to ranck when you see it soe you may mow the top of it of, if it be not ranck then lett it grow on in Gods name.

Then in the spring as soone as you can gett the spade into the Ground sow a gaine of wheate Barly of Oates Beanes & Pease but must not be soe deep in the earth not above 2 Inches & $\frac{1}{2}$ & sow them in seaverall places & when you see them come up you must breake the Clods & make them lye even & fine but the beanes & pease you need not be soe Curious in lett the event be what it will lett it be done.

If all be Lost the loss is to us & nobody else but if it should take whatt comfort would it be to those that Inhabit there as you find by the turnips for such rich Mould that has layne fallow it may be from the Creation cannot Chuse but bring forth strongly especially where such plenty of snow is all the winter wch. keeps every thing warme & is as we say in England the poore mans Dung.

Wee Doubt not but you will cutt as much hay as will serve the Cattell you desire till next spring but you must Consider the Colder the Wether is the better the Cattell must be fed & the more they will Eat we have for that end sent you sythes for grass for Corne & Reaping hookes forks Rakes &ca. & to Rick it some some shorter some Longer that you may have them for all uses & we hope you will make all the forrage you posibly Can wch. we hartily reccommend to you, We now recomend *again*e to you the sending what fethers you can gett such as are fitt for beds & to keep those of Geese by them selves, we hope you may by the next yeare make a begining and send us a good pcell we meane such only as are fitt for beds Except you find the Goose quills to be good for pens & if soe to Returne as many as can thereof likewise we Reffer the gratuity to be given those of the Factory that gett the fethers to the Councell but those Brought by the Indians theres noe Reason we allow any for them because they are bought of the Indians.

We are informed that there is great quantytyes of Turrpentime & Tarr in the bottome of the Bay we desire you to use your endeavor for the procuring of them they being both a Commodity att this time especially the former.

Wee desire a pticular accompt of that disposall of that Large supply of Brandy & Tobacco &ca. sent with you last Yeare.

Our Intentions & resolutions being to send over sufficient Quantities of Brandy Tobakco sugar & Cloathes &ca. that soe the Company may wholly supply the Factory instad of others hoping to lessen the extravegant wages of our servants which practis'd in all Companys whatsoe ever In order to wch. pray advise what Quanti of each may be proper to send pr. next shipping.

Wee had sent you a farr greater supply of brazeill Tobacco had not the ship in which it went Consined to us came by a mischance which occasioned its not ariving before the Departure of our ships.

We would have the companyes pakett made up in duple paper only, the poststage being 2s. pr. ounce Lett the Contents of the packett be only the Generall Letter Invoyce bills of Loading & signall all the Bookes &ca. in a packett distinct.

Lett all servants whatsoever sware fidilyty to the Compa. according to the forme of the oath heare Inclosed, We Remaine wishing you all health & prosperity; Your Loveing Frinds

SAMUELL CLARKE Dept. Govenr.

THO. PITTS

ROBT. LANCASHIRE

JOHN SMITH

ROBT. NICHOLAS

London 17 June 1693

Mr. Sinclar

Your Letter of the 2d Sept. 1692 pr. Capt. Edgcombe came safe to our hands, the Latter End of Octobr. folloing whereby we understand you had recevid the Comision we sent you to be Governor Knights Deputy in the Bottome of the Bay & for the returne of thanks you Make us for that favour Conferred on you we accept.

The promises you give us of making it your business to promote the good & intrest of the Compa. Booth in obtaining & securing our forts & bringing back the Trade from the French & studying the peace & happy concord amongst your selves we allsoe kindly accept & hope your actions will Corespond & hold peace with your words that we as you say well may have noe Cause to repent us of our kindness in your promotion we Like well allsoe that the old freindshipp bettwixt Governr. Knight & your selfe Continueth soe harty & that you are soe Ready to accompany him in this desinge & for his integrity & ability in all respects to undertake such a worke

we had full satisfaction therein before he departed hence otherwise should not have undertaken such a weighty designe Considering the vast Expence that attends it.

We observe you take notice of the Industry & diligence of the French in all their undertakings & if they be Lett alone there in peace they would soone eat us out of the trade of the whole Bay.

Yett it may be easily prevented by nothing more then giveng our peple due Encouragement & shewing good Example to them by their superiours & Comanders, & therefore we hope you in the station we have placed you will not be wanting to contribute all you can thereto & as for us as wee have declared in our Generall Letter soe we have resolved to give all the encoragement posible that whomesoever we find deserveing shall be Rewarded accordingly in what station & Condition soever he is in & without parciallity.

We hope you have a booke Keeper with you that understands the Method they have att Hayes River If not we desire you to Instruct them therein that things appeare plaine & Easey to us we allso Reccomend to you in the station the prudents Care Imaginable in the spending of our provisions which are Excessive deare all maner of graine is Double the price twas Last Yeare & flesh more then halfe as deare againe which putts us to prodigious Expence therefore pray be saveing in every thing for we are very fearefull of a dearth in Urope which God forbid & pray see to gett as much of the Countrey provisions as posiable to save ours in Case of any accident.

We have sent you all manner of Graine & garden seeds wch. pray improve to the uttmmost wee are sencible they will all come to pfection there, for your directions we have sent you a Booke & we Know that the maine business Lyes in the Head officers in keeping them to a dayly worke & Encourageing them by their Example & when things are once brought to a Custome it goes on easily & we Know you cannot butt apprehend the Comodiousness of such Rootes & Hearbs to a Factory where soe much salt victualls are Eaten.

As for your sallery you may depend on haveing the same your predesesour have had viz. £100 p. annum, and we doubt

not you will promote our intrest all you can both in incorageing the Beavor & Castorum Trade & in discovering other Comodities as allsoe propagating the growth of Corne &ca. as p. generall Letter in order to which we have now sent you a pticular pson one Stephen Pitts¹ who hath great Knowledge In all manner of Tillage & agriculture he haveing bin used to itt from his Childhood.

We Intend to send over Cattle next shiping therefore make all the hay & Provision you can for there Reception being the present needfull we remaine

Your Lo. Freinds
 SAMUELL CLARKE Dept. Governor
 THO. PITTS
 ROBT. LANCASHIRE
 JOHN SMITH
 ROBT. NICHOLAS

London the 17 June 1693

Mr. Tho. Walsh

Wee Recevid your Letter pr. Capt. Edgcombe who arrived Last October in safety but the sudden departure of our shippes the Last Yeare & the Hurry of business at that time prevented our writeing to you Being advised from Governor Gyer of his Intentions in Leaving the Government of that place att the returne of our shippes we have unanimously Elected you in that station in order thereunto have here Inclosed sent you a Comision not Doubting but you will discharge that Command with all care & fidility, as to your taking place in that station we have now appointed you, we Refer you to a parragraph in

¹ It is not known if this man was related to Stephen Pitts, the Committee Member, or to his brother Thomas Pitts. After his return to England in the autumn of 1694 the Committee, "considering Mr. Steph. Pitts . . . went out at small wages viz. 6 : 8 : 10 : & £12 pr. ann. (for Encouragement of such person or persons who shall bee Industrious in Cultivateing the ground at Albany and Yorke Forts) & for his past service, were pleased to make up his wages which amounted to £9: 15: 6 Twenty pounds for the Secretary was ordered to pay him as an adition to his wages the sume of £10: 4: 6" (A.1/17, fo. 6d.).

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the Generall Letter directing the same, we have sent you all maner of graine & garden seeds which pray improve to the uttmost we are all sinciable they will all come to perfection there for your directions we have sent you a Book & we know that the maine business lyes in the Head officers in keeping them to a dayly worke & Encoraging them by their example & when things are once brought to a Costome it goes on easily & we know you cannot butt apprehend the comodiousness of such Roots & hearbs to a factory where soe much salt victuals are eaten, we doubt not but you will use your uttmost intrest to promote & encorage the Improvement of beavor & Castorum Trade as allsoe in discovering all the Comodities, we entend to send over Cattell next shipping therefore make all the Hay & provision you can for their Reception being the present offers we Remaine

Your Lo. Freinds

SAMUELL CLARK Dept. Govènor.

ROBT. LANCASHIRE

ROBT. NICHOLAS

JOHN SMITH

London 17 June 1693

The Governour & Company adventures of England trading
into Hudsons Bay.

To Mr. Thomas Walsh greeting.

By virtue of a Power & authority to us given by King Charles the 2d by his letters patents under the Great seale of England baring date the second day of May in the two & twentieth yeare of His Reigne & confirmed by Act of Parliment in the second yeare of their Present Present Majties. Reigne we doe hereby constitue & appoynt you Tho. Walsh to be Governor & Commander in Cheife of our Factory of Yorke fort in Hayes River Hudsons Bay & of all & every our Ports Rivers factoryes Lands teritories with their their Dependences contained & lying in the notherly part of the Bay within the streights commonly Called Hudsons Streights

L. S.

*The Compies.
Comission to Mr.
Tho. Walsh to be
Governr. of
Yorke Fort*

in America to use & exersise the said Goverment & Commanding during our will & plesure & all our Comanders & Servants which are or shall be imployed by us within the limetts aforesaid & to yeild obedience to you & you are to follow such orders & directions as you shall receve from us Given under our hands & Common Seale the 14 Day of June Anno Domine 1693 & in the fifth yere of the Reige of our soverings Lord & Lady King William & Queen Mary of England Sotland France & Ireland /*Defenders of the Faith &c.*

the 27 May 1696¹

L. S.

*The Companies
Comission to Mr.
Phillip Parsons
to be Deputy
Governr. at
Yorke Fort*

The Governor & Company of adventures of England Trading into Hudsons Bay.

To Mr. Philip Persons Greeting.

By virtue of the Power & authority to us given By King Charles the Second by his Letters Patents under the great seale of England baring date the 2d day of May in the two & twentieth yere of his reing & confirmed by act of Parliment in the second yere of thire Present Majesties Reigne, we doe hereby constitute & appoynt you to be deputy Governor under Mr. Thomas Walch of our Factory of York fort in Hayes River, & of all & every our Ports Rivers Factoryes Lands teritoryes with their dependencyes contained & Lying in Northerly part of the Bay within the streights Commonly Called Hudsons streights in Amarica & in Case of the decease of the sd. Mr. Thomas Walch you are to succed him in the Government & to Excercise as Governer there the same powers & authorityes as are by us Granted to the said Mr. Thomas Walch & this during our plesure given under our hands Common Seale the 14 Day of June Anno Domine 1693 & in the fifth yere of the Reigne of King William & Queen Mary of England Scotland France & Ireland Defenders of the Faith &ca.

¹ This date appears at the bottom of the page in the manuscript.

The Govenor & Company of adventures of England trading
into Hudsons Bay.

To Mr. Thomas Mathew¹ Greeting.

By virtue of a power & authority to us given by King Charles the second by his Letters patents under the great seale of England baring date the second day of May in the 22d Yeare of his Reinge & confirmed by act of Parliment in the 2d yeare of their present present Majestyes Reigne we hereby constitute & appoynt you to Second Leftenant under Capt. Philip Persons in the Independend Company of foot to be employed in Hudsons Bay for the Defence of the same, you are therefore Carefully & diligently to discharge the Duty of a second Leftenant by excersiseing & well disiplining both the Inferior Officers & soulders of that Company & we doe hearby Command them to obey you as their 2d Leftenant & you are to obsevere & follow such orders & directions from time to time as you shall receve from your Capt. or any other of your Superiors officers according to your Duty & this during our plesure given under our hands & Common seale in the 14 day of June Ano. Domine 1693 & in the 5th yeare of the Reigne of King William & Queen Mary of England Scotland France & Ireland Defenders of the Faith &ca.

*The Companies
Comision to Mr.
Tho. Mathew to
be Leiftenant
under Capt.
Phillip Parsons
at Yorke Fort*

L. S.

Saileing Orders or Instructions to
Capt. Leonard Edgcombe

You are with the first faire wind that offers to saile the shipp *Dering* Friggtt. under your Command For Hayes River In Hudsons Bay in America And because the season of the yeare is soe farr Advanced wee doe not Enjoyne you to steer your Course to the northward, tho wee wish it may be your Fortune to goe that way, but to make the Best of your way as the winds shall present, unless you receive orders to the Contrary from us; you are likewise to keepe Company with the *Suply* Capt.

¹ Thomas Mathew (or Matthews) was made a prisoner when York Fort was captured by the French on October 4, 1694 (A.15/4, fo. 110). He apparently returned to England via France early in 1696 (A.1/19, fos. 9d., 12).

James Young, and being arrived at or neare Yorke Fort in Hayes River aforesaid, you are to Deliver unto Capt. Geo. Geyer or any other our Govr. there for the time being, all such Provisions goods and stores, as goe Consigned to him by Bills of Loading, & haveing made A due delivery of your outward Cargoe you are to Receive on Board all such Beavor Furrs and other goods as our Governour or Cheife Factor shall Lade or tender to be Laden & with all possible Expedition you are to Depart Hayes River aforesaid, and God sending you to arrive at the Port of London you are to make a due delivery, and end the Intended Voyage, and you are hereby Constituted Commander in Cheife, for this voyage therefore wee require & command Capt. James Young (or who else shall returne wth. you, to advise and consult wth. you and obey your orders upon all Emergencies dureing your outward and homeward bound voyage not doubting but you will Likewise Consult and agree wth. him or them in all things for the Generall good and Advantage of the Company and in case you shall meet with or be attacked, by any Enemy in this voyage either outward or homeward which God forbid, or upon any other extraordinary accident or accasion that shall happen, (as wee have Comanded Capt. Young to doe the like to you) soe wee doe hereby likewise order you to stand by him soe that your strenght and force may be united for for the better defence of our ships and goods, and wee hope likewise wee need not Enjoyne you that the Publick service of Almighty God be duely Performed on Board your Shipp If in your outward or homeward Bound voyage you meet wth. any Shipp or Shipps within Hudsons streights or Hudsons Bay whether sailed by their Maties. subjects or strangers not being in the Compies. Imploy, wee doe by vertue of our Charter prohibiting all such Confirmed by act of Parliament hereby Require and authorize you to seize them wth. all goods and stores on board them as Lawfull prize and to bring them without Imbeizlment wth. you for England, In order to be proceeded against according to Law when you shall be wth. in the verge and Command of our Factory in Hayes River we order you then to follow, obey and execute all such orders and directions as our Governour there

for the time being wth. the Advice of his Council shall give you in Charge for our service.

The Companies Packquet of letters take care to destroy in case you Are in danger of being taken by the Enemy either outward or homeward Bound, and when it shall please God you arrive in England, send the Compnies. Pacquet of letters, onely, by the first oportunity, leaveing all other pcells on Board, Wee also order you in the homeward bound voyages that you saile Directly for the Downs wind and weather permitting and from thence with out delay to proceed for the River of Thames in order to your delivery, soe hartily praying for your Prosperous Voyage, and safe returne to us we Rest

Your Loveing Freinds

SAMUELL CLARKE Dept. Governr.

THOMAS PITTS

ROBT. LANCASHIRE

JOHN SMITH

ROBT. NICHOLAS

London the 17 June 1693

Saileing Orders or Instructions to

Capt. James Young

Wee doe hereby order you wth. the first oportunity of wind that offers to saile the shipp *Supply* to Hayes River in Hudsons Bay America and because the season of the yeare is soe farr Advanced wee doe not enioyne you to steer your Course to the nothward but make the Best of your way as the wind shall present, unless you shall receive orders to the Contrary from us.

And when it shall please God you shall arrive at Hayes River, you are hereby ordered to deliver to the Governour and Council of Yorke Fort in Hayes River aforesaid for the time being, all such goods stores and Provisions as goe Consigned to Capt. James Knight Govr. in the Bottom of the Bay and all other goods you shall then have on board you for the Compa. accompt taken in at London and haveing made a due delivery of our outward Cargoe you are to receive on Board all such

Beavor Furr and other goods as our Govr. and Council at Yorke Fort for the time being shall Lade or tender to be Laden on board, and wth. all possible expedition, you are to depart Hayes River aforesaid; and make the best of your way for the Port of London, where God sending you safe to arive, you are to make a due delivery and end the intended Voyage and in your voyage both outward And homeward you are wind & weather permitting, to keep Company wth. our Shipp the *Deering* Friggott; Capt. Leonard Edgcombe Commander, whome wee have Constituted Commander in Cheife for this Voyage therefore wee require and command you to consult and advise with, and follow all such orders as you shall receive from him upon all emergences dureing your outward and home ward bound voyage and in all other matters wee doubt not you will act and doe for the generall good and Advantage of the Company The Companies Pacquet of letters take care to destroy in case you are in danger of being taken by the Enemy either outward or homeward bound And when it shall please God you arive in England send the Companies pacquet of letters onely by the first oportunity leaveing all other pcells on board soe hartily praying for your prosperous voyage and safe returne to us wee rest

Your Loveing Friends

SAMUELL CLARKE Deputy Govr.

THO. PITTS

ROBT. LANCASHIRE

JOHN SMITH

ROBT. NICHOLAS

London

the 17 June 1693.

To Capt.
Grimington At
Plimouth

Capt. Grimington

Wee received yours of the 13th Instant from Plymouth and heartily Congratulate your safe arrivall there wth your good sucess, wee shall also be glad to see you here. But however it is our positive order that you depart not from thence without

the *Dunkirke* or some other man of warr of force; and that they be the more Carefull wee give you leave to promise your Convoy a gratuity not exceeding ten gunes, wee alsoe hope you need not be put in mind to secure as much as in you lyes all private Trade from being Conveyed away, soe Wishing you to arrive safe wth. us wee remaine.

Your Loveing Freinds

SAMUELL CLARKE Deputy Governour

ROBT. LANCASHIRE

JOHN SMITH

ROBT. NICHOLAS

URBAN HALL¹

JOHN SWEETAPLE²

London THOMAS PITTS

the 17 Octob. 1693

Capt. Bayley

Wee have received your letter of the 13 present as also the good news of your safe arriveall at Plymouth with the good success you have had, very much rejoycheth us, our desire is that you remaine on Board the *Hudsons Bay* Friggtt. untell you arive in the River of Thames when you shall receive further orders, wee desire you to have a strickt eye and care that no

*To Capt. Baley
At Plimouth*

¹ Urban Hall of London, merchant, held Hudson's Bay Company stock from June 1691 until the following July, when he sold out. He again became a stockholder in September 1691 and finally sold out in June 1695. He was elected to the Committee in November of 1692 and 1693.

² John Sweetaple of London, Goldsmith, was recorded in 1677 as keeping running-cashes at the Black Moor's Head in Lombard Street. He was one of the Sheriffs of London in 1694 and on November 12 of that year he was knighted at Whitehall. According to Le Neve, Sir John Sweetaple was married to Sarah, daughter of "John Adams of London Goldsmith in Cheapside". About 1701 Sweetaple "broke for a great su'me dyeing in the mint" (Price, *Handbook of London Bankers*, p. 160; Marshall, *Le Neve's Pedigrees of the Knights*, p. 447). Sweetaple held varying amounts of Hudson's Bay Company stock from January 1691 until April 1704, when he sold his remaining £25. He was elected to the Committee in November 1692, and was re-elected in November of each of the following four years.

Private trade bee Conveyed ashoare performance of which service will be kindly taken by them who rest.

Your Loveing Freinds

SAMUELL CLARKE Deputy Govr.

THOMAS PITTS

JOHN SMITH

URBAN HALL

ROBT. NICHOLAS

JOHN SWEETAPLE

ROBT. LANCASHIRE

London

the 17 Octob. 1693

*To Capt.
Grimington
At Plimouth*

Capt. Grimington

Wee have Received yours of the 18, 20 and 22th Present and are sorry to heare that the *Dunkirke* man of warr, is ordered to Continue at Plymouth, as alsoe that noe other man of warr presents for the Eastward, soe must have Patience not doubting your care and good husbandrey whilst you remain in Port &c our Shippes from Yorke Fort wee understand are arrived in Baltimore in Ireland how soone they may come away wee know not but If they should bouth arrive wth. you at Plymouth and a faire wind presents wee would have you then all three Proceed togeather without staying for any Convoy soe wishing you safe to arrive, wee Remaine.

Your Loveing Freinds

SAMUELL CLARKE Dept. Govr.

THOMAS PITTS

ROBT. LANCASHIRE

JOHN SMITH

London

the 26th Octob. 1693

*To Capt.
Edgcombe
At Plimouth*

Capt. Edgcombe

If it please God that you and Capt. Young put into the Port of Plymouth; before you arrive wth. us; and there bee noe Opertunity of Convoy spedily presenting, It is our order that upon the first faire wind that offers you saile your shipp

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Dering Friggtt. takeing Capt. Young And Capt. Grimington
in your Compa. and proceed directly for the River of Thames
soe wishing you and them to arrive safe wth us we Remaine

Your Loveing Freinds

SAMUELL CLARKE Deputy Governr.

THOMAS PITTS

ROBT. LANCASHIRE

JOHN SMITH

Hudsons Bay House

London Octob. the 26th 1693

Capt. Young

If it please God that Capt. Edgcombe and you arrive in the
Port of Plymouth and find Capt. Grimington there alsoe,
haveing noe Opertunity of Convoy, It is our order that both
Capt. Edgcombe and Capt. Grimington and your selfe upon
the first faire wind that offers Proceed togeather for the River
of Thames. Soe wishing you all to arrive with us in safty wee
Remaine.

*To Capt. Young
At Plimouth*

Your Loveing Freinds

SAMUELL CLARKE Dept. Governr.

THOMAS PITTS

ROBT. LANCASHIRE

JOHN SMITH

Hudson Bay House

London Octob. the 26th 1693

Post Script

wee suppose you have a small a packett of letters from Yorke
Fort, wch wee desier may bee sent up By the Post, but noe
Trunke or great Packett of any weight, exceeding, $\frac{1}{2}$ ℥ the most.

Capt. Edgcombe

Yesterday wee Received yours of the 31th Octob. from
Plymouth and Congratulate your arrivall there, and hope in a
few dayes may doe the same at this place, wee shall not now

*To Capt.
Edgcombe
At Plimouth*

nead to enlarge but Referr you to our former order of the 26th of Octob. Last which Capt. Grimington wee understand has delivered you, soe praying for your safe arrivall at this port, wee Remaine,

Your Loveing Friends
 SAMUELL CLARKE Deputy Governr.
 THOMAS PITTS
 ROBT. LANCASHIRE
 JOHN SMITH

Hudson Bay House
 London the 4th Novemb. 1693

*To Capt. Young
 At Plimouth*

Capt. Young

Yesterday wee Received yours dated the 31th Instant from Plymouth and Congratulate your Arrivall there, and hope in a few dayes may doe the same at this place, wee shall not now nead to Enlarge but Referr you to our former order of the 26 Octob. last which Capt. Grimington wee understand has delivered you, soe praying for your safe arrivall at this Port, we remaine,

Your Loveing Freinds
 SAMUELL CLARKE Dept. Governr.
 THOMAS PITTS
 ROBT. LANCASHIRE
 JOHN SMITH

Hudsons Bay House
 London the 4th Novemb. 1693

If this comes to your hand pray omitt not to send your small packett up, with the first post, which wee expected with Capt. Edgcombe.

*To Capt.
 Edgcombe
 At Plimouth*

Capt. Edgcombe

Yours of the 3 Currt. is come to our hands, and wee are very sorry to hear soe many of your [men] have left your Shipp, the number beeing soe very great wee doe not think it safe you

come alone but concurr in Opinnion with you and are resolved to have you and the rest of our Shipps come wth. Convoys, and not by your selves as wee formerly ordered, and therefore its our order you stay till the first Convoy departs thence, and that you will not omitt that opertunity when it shall happen whether it be English or Dutch Convoy, for undoubtedly the Dutch will not stay long there howsoever ours may be ordered, wee Apprehend not your meaning in Procureing you a farther protection for your men, since none of them has bin prest, but run of there owne accords from you, wch. if they are soe bent and inclined, noe Protection will signifie anything to them. Pray give us alsoe the names of those that Deserted your Shipp and what others you shall or have entertain'd in their roomes, the same to the other two Capts. (yet however it shall bee endeavored) wee hope some of them, may bethinke them selves and returne to you, or that you will retayne or procure as many hands as will saile her and be in some good posture likewise to defend her we think you may at the utmost extremity if you should be there to driven, that you may have some Dutch who came out of the Figgitt. lost there, Capt. wee doubt not but your utmost care and dilligence will bee used to bring the Shipp safe hither which God grant.

As to the bill you and Capt. Young have Drawne upon us pble. to Capt. Jumpe, you may be sure the Comittee will not be ungratefull and the next Comittee care will be taken of it, In case the Convoy proceed noe farther then the Downes wee Leave it to your direction to proceed for the River wth. Compa. or Convoy or without as you Judge most safe.

Not doubting but you three will keepe Compa. togeather, giveing us advice Every post of your proceedings and Intentions, which is all we have farther to add and remaine,

Your Loveing Freinds

SAMUELL CLARKE Dept. Governr.

THOMAS PITTS

ROBT. LANCASHIRE

JOHN SMITH

Hudson Bay House

London the 7th novemb. 1693

*To Capt.
Grimington
At Plimouth*

Capt. Grimington

Yours of the 31th past and 3d present came both to our hands this morning, and that of the 24 past wee gave answer to the 28 ditto, which wee doubt not came in due time to your hands, which alsoe Confirmed our orders of sayling wth. our other two Shippes. wth. the first faire winde, whether you had Convoy or noe, but since haveing understood from Capt. Edgcombe and Capt. Young that soe many of their men have left them and they soe weaknead thereby, that wee have thought good to alter our opininion and your orders, Giveing you now possitive order not to saile without Convoy, but be sure you doe not omitt the first Convoy whether it be Dutch or English. you did well in delivering our orders to Capt. Edgcombe and Capt. Young, as you did, tho wee see reason now to give you and them other orders, wee have not to add but let you know your Bill shall be taken care of, an accompt thereof wee expect from you and Comitt you to divine protection and Remaine,

Your Loveing Freinds,

SAMUELL CLARKE Dept. Governr.

THOMAS PITTS

ROBT. LANCASHIRE

JOHN SMITH

Hudson Bay House

London the 7 novemb. 1693

Postscript

wee doe further order you to keepe

Compa. wth. Capt. Edgcombe and Capt. Young
till you shall arrive in this River.

*To Capt. Young
At Plimouth*

Capt. Young

Your letter of the 3d to our Dept. Govr. has bin comunicated to us, and the Bill drawne upon him for the repaire of your Shippes bowspritt &c. will be taken care of the next Committee but you forgett to mention in your letter of whome the money

was taken as alsoe to whom pable, wee are much troubled that your men should soe many leave the Shipp, since they were not molested with the press masters. which reason has ocasioned us to alter our resolutions and your orders of comeing without Convoy; and doe now order you to come wth. Convoy; and therefore desire you to gett in readiness to sayle wth. the first Convoy whether Dutch or English, wee know not what good a farther protection will doe you since your men are not prest but run voluntary away from you, however wee could not if wee would get a farther protection till theres an Admiralty day, wee have not farther but remaine,

Your Loveing Freinds

SAMUELL CLARKE Dept. Govr.

THOMAS PITTS

ROBT. LANCASHIRE

JOHN SMITH

Hudson Bay House

London the 7th Novemb. 1693

Capt. Edgcombe

Yesterday wee Received yours as also Capt. Youngs and Capt. Grimingtons dated the 10th Instant from Plimouth and pursuant to your desier wee have sent for you Each a Protection, which will find in a letter Inclosed in Mr. Morgan Lodges¹ of Deale which you may depend upon, and ashure your seamen as likewise theires for their satisfaction, the Protections are 60 men for your Shipp 60 for Capt. Youngs and 50 for Capt. Grimington, the names of whome you may Endorse on the back of the Protections, wee would have sent you them to Plymouth but presume they might Have come to Late, as you seme to hint in your letter, wee have not farther to Add but heartily wish you all three with us wee Remaine.

*To Capt.
Edgcombe at
Plimouth*

Your Loveing Freinds

SAMUELL CLARKE Dept. Governr.

THOMAS PITTS

¹ See *H.B.S.*, IX, 20.

ROBT. LANCASHIRE
JOHN SMITH

Hudson Bay House
London the 14 Novemb. 1693.

*To Capt.
Edgcombe in the
Downes*

Capt. Edgcombe

Here Inclosed are the Protections which wee Advised you
in our Letter of this day for Plymouth, Wee had sent inclosed
to Mr. Morgan Lodg, for the Downes, soe Rest,

Your Loveing Freinds

SAMUELL CLARKE Dept. Govr.

THOMAS PITTS

ROBT. LANCASHIRE

JOHN SMITH

Hudson Bay House
London the 14th Novemb. 1693

*To Mr. Morgan
Lodg in Deale*

Mr. Morgan Lodg

Wee have not of Late had ocasion to Trouble you, but
understanding our three Shipps from Hudsons Bay viz. the
Dering Friggtt. Capt. Edgcombe the *Supply* Capt. Young and
the *Hudsons Bay* Friggtt. Capt. Grimington Commander, who
have bin some time at Plymouth may speedily Arrive in the
Downes, wee desire you to deliver the Inclosed to Capt.
Edgcombe and to be Aiding and assisting to them in all things
to the utmost of your power as their occasions shall Require
wee are,

Your Loveing Freinds

SAMUELL CLARKE Dept. Governor

THOMAS PITTS

ROBT. LANCASHIRE

JOHN SMITH

Hudson Bay House
London the 14th Novemb. 1693

Mr Giles Firmin¹
and Compa.
Sr.

I am Comanded by the Deputy Governr. and Comittee² of the Hudsons Bay Compa. to desire you to use your utmost care and skill In Buying of 20 Roles of Brazeile tobacco which they Compute to bee about 3600 pound weight in the whole, which quantity they have ocasion for, Pray take care that it bee of the Last and freshest Importation, haveing found that part of what they have Lately received to be unsound, and Consequently of noe use and they hope the price will bee verry Reasonable by reason they understand greate quantityes are arrived with you, when these goods are Provided, they desire may bee shipped in the first Portuguese Shipp that comes for London, haveing Received greate disapointment by the late Comeing of the Last Parcell and if Possible would have this by Aprill next, Lett the Consignment of these Goods bee by a Portuguse to a Portuguese, and Endorsed in Blanke and send noe Advice by Shipp but by post, for the Amount thereof bee pleased to Draw your Bills on me as heretofore, which shall receive all due honour being the Presant from.

Your verry humble servant
Wm. POTTER

Pray your answer by the first

Hudson Bay House
London the 12th Decemb 1693

2 Coppys of the Above said letter sent the 26th January 1693/4 one by the way of the groine and one by the way of Amsterdam.³

¹ Giles Firmin & Co. of Oporto (A.1/16, fo. 4d.).

² For the names of the men elected in November 1693 to serve for one year as Governor, Deputy Governor and on the Committee, see Appendix A, p. 310.

³ The minutes of the Committee held on December 13, 1693 (A.1/16, fo. 5d.) mention that "2 Letters one by way of Amsterdam & the other by the way of the Groine" had been sent the previous night. Corunna, a seaport on the north-west coast of Spain, was formerly known as The Groin by sailors. See *O.E.D.*

The Generall Letter to Govr. Knight & the Rest of his
Councell at Albany Fort

Gentlemen

Yours of the 23d July the 31st August & the 10th September last are all come safe to our hands.

Bringing us the glad tydeings of your great success against the French in the Bottom of the Bay which after Giveing thanks to God wee must ascribe the success to the Prudent management of Govr. Knight and wee are the more Rejoyced to find that it hath pleased Almighty God to protect & presarve him from the assaults of the Enimie.¹

Wee have seriously perused the pticulers of his managment of our affaires from the time of his departure from Yorke Fort untill he was Master of Albany Fort, perticularly dureing all the time of wintering at Gilpins Island and elsewhere on the East Maine,² wherein we are very sensible his Industry & good Husbandry was very advantagious to us in the saveing of our Provisions &c. sent out on that expedition, by the great

¹ According to La Potherie's account published in 1753 (Tyrrell, *Docs. Rel. to the Early History of Hudson Bay*, p. 256), four days after Knight recaptured Albany Fort "the *Ste. Anne* arrived. The captain [not knowing about the English occupation] sent some men ashore to find out in what state the Canadians were. The English sent a ship to capture him, but he got wind of them and forced the English to return to the river, and he then sailed back to Canada". The incident is not referred to in the Company's archives. Knight re-captured Albany on June 22, 1693, and at that time had the *Royal Hudson's Bay*, the *Prosperous* and the *Pery* at his disposal. The Governor and Committee's 1694 letter to Knight does not, as might be expected, make reference to the incident which, if it happened, Knight must have mentioned in his 1693 dispatches to London.

² See p. 202, n.2; p. 203, n.1. Cox, *Adventures on the Columbia River . . .*, II, Appendix, 398-9, 'In the year 1800 Mr. Atkinson found the following inscription written in a piece of cedar wood, about a foot square and five feet above the ground, on Old Factory Island in James' Bay, about thirty miles to the northward of East Main Factory. All the letters were quite visible. "In the year 1692 wintered three ships at this island, with one hundred and twenty-seven men, under the government of Captain James Knight. Then we erected this monument in remembrance of it."' According to n. 75, p. 36, of Kenney, *Founding of Churchill*, the tablet came into the possession of Mr. C. C. Chipman, Commissioner of the Company in Winnipeg in 1910. Its present location is not known. See also Bell, *Journal of Henry Kelsey (1691-1692)*, pp. 36-7.

number of fish & other fresh provisions caught dureing all the time of his stay there, & alsoe in his Conduct in the Disiplineing of the men which two things we are assured did very much Conduce to the facilitating the designe in hand by keeping your Men in heart & health and makeing them more expert in the use of their armes, wee could enlarge very much on this Subject dureing his stay there as to the managemt. of the Natives &ca. But it will be to large to enumerate every Peticuler butt as we said before haveing duely considered thereof shall conclude in saying wee approve & comend all his actions dureing the whole time.¹

Wee are very sorry that any of our servants should misbehave themselves towards you in disobeying your comands especially them in whome we most Confided, to whome we have sufficiently resented it, and on the contrary we have bin gratefull to Capt. Baley whome you recomended had behaved himselfe well, & shall not be backward to doe the same to the rest who are with you when opertunity shall present.

Wee are very well pleased with the addition you have made to the Fortification since you tooke it and doubt not but you have ever since well employed your selves in propogateing the Compies. Interest, & are glad to heare you are in such a Condition that you doe not fear any attack from the Enimie, and to shew you our resolution to support & maintaine the Trade of Albany Fort wee have in all things compleated your Indent² (except some few things which were not to be had) and taken such care in the goodness & Quallity of the goods

¹ According to B.3/d/1, fo. 15d., Knight's force whilst on Gilpin Island expended 2056 lbs. shot and 479½ lbs. Powder "a trying of the mortar training of the men and hunteing haveing killd. . . . 5477 Ptdges. [partridges] 196 Rabbitts 822 geese 60 brants 17 ducks and 10 swans . . .". The same source (fo. 14d.) also records that Knight "to be satisfied whether the Inds. he had upon the hunt after the Frenchmens Beavor at Moose River had made any discovery Intending to send the *James* Friggatt there and understanding that there were a good many natives there who wanted very much to trade thought fitt that nothing might be Lost to send Mr. Savage wth. a handsome smal Cargoe in her to deal wth. them". There was a loss of 4½/60 Made Beaver on the transaction "for want of skill to deal wth. the Natives there".

² A copy of the invoice of the goods sent to Albany Fort in *Dering* [III] in 1694 is in A.24/1, fos. 105d.-109d.

that wee doubt not but they will answer expectation, all wch. goe Consigned to you pr. the *Deering* Frigtt. Capt. Henry Bayly Comander as pr. the Inclosed Invoice & bill of Loading more at large may appeare.

But if any defect should be in any Guns Iron worke &ca. wee desire you would send word home the names & makers of such, and wee shall take care the makers thereof shall never serve the Compa. for the future.

As for the men wee sent you the last yeare wee hope might in some measure attone for those that went with you, & we have this yeare wee beleive don yet better haveing sent you one & twenty stout able fellowes wch. wee hope with a Little of your management & discipline will prove very serviceable hands in the Factory.

Wee observe what you say concerning the Standard of Trade at Albany River & why you could not alter it from what it was formerly tho you say you begun the Trade on the East Maine neer the standard of Yorke Fort, now wee must further observe to you that wee have great complaints from Yorke Fort that the standard of Albany River should be soe much higher then it is with them & they say it will drawe most of the Trade from them for that the Indians will goe where they can have most for their Beavor & therefore desire you would consider of this matter & act therein as you shall Judge most for our Interest for wee referr the matter wholly to you thinking you being upon the place the best Judge.

Wee are glad to heare that the Bottome of the Bay is a firtile & rich Country as you express it however wee have not sent any cattle this yeare by reason you Intimate the great difficulty & danger in Lookeing after them dureing the Warr.

Wee are of your opinion that it is for our Interest to promote all men in our service in their severall stations according to their meritts for their encouragement in prformeing their duty, and wee doe assure you wee shall never be backwards in promoteing & *Rewarding any person who shall in any wise advance our Interest by discovering any new Trade or Comodity Peticulerly that of Mines & Mineralls of wch. you sent us severall samples by the Last Shipping, and altho they might*

promise well to your or any other persons eye, yet upon examination they prove onely sulphur & vanish in smoake Yet wee Beleive for very good reasons that could you sinke 5 or 6 fathom Deep you would come to a Reall Minerall and the deeper the better, for those samples you sent us lying on the surface of the earth do betoken a Reall Minerall in the Bowells thereof, but whether it be practicable to be done wee must wholly leave to you, wee have sent you Twee bills¹ wch. wee conceive you designe for such uses however wee are Informed that Gunpowder is principally used in Mineing for Mineralls.

Wee perceive that you *have made an experiment in distilling Turpentine* But wee find the Turpentine it selfe to be of much more value then the oyle *therefore desire all the Turpentine you can procure to be sent us undistilled in good tyte cask being a very currant Comodity here.*

Wee would have you send us a box or caske of that you call *Monk rubarb*² *the the freshest you can gitt, and as for Castorium on the Improvemt. of wch. Comodity wee have great hopes* wee doe not doubt but by your prudent managemt. in encourageing the Indians to bring it downe, *in time to have as many paire of Castorium codds as Beavr. skins* since every one both male & female hath a paire, and are hear more vendable then the Beavor it selfe & at a better price pr. pound nay neerer double, therefore it might not be amiss for you to give the Indians more goods by the way of Trade then they should aske or require for said Comodity & tell them it is to Incurridge them another yeare to save it, the Ingendering stones are of Little Vallew however if any Present to you in they way of Trade may send them home alsoe. *Moose skins or Buffelo hydes are a great comodity here this Warr time,* therefore if any are to be had pray send them home & suffer them not to be used in the Factory Upon any accott. whatsoever haveing sent Leather &ca. to Supply in stead thereof.

Wee should be glad you could *procure us some Isinglass* being

¹ "Twibill . . . A kind of ax with two cutting edges . . . A mattock ; also a similar tool used in mining . . ." (O.E.D.).

² "Monk's rhubarb . . . A name for a species of dock, esp. *Rumex Patientia* and *R. alpinus* . . ." (O.E.D.).

onely the *sound of sturgion dried*, of wch. wee are Informed great quantitys may be had, that Comodity is alsoe very currant here. for our *Bissiness is to find out new Comoditys & to Improve the small Furr Trade* nothing being more vendable then small Furrs &c, for since we have Imported great quantitys of Beavr. it is become a drugg & sells at a very low rate from 6 Shillings to 7 Shillings P. pound and but in small Qu[a]ntitys neither.

Wee are very well sattisfied with the reasons you give for detaineing the Shippes *Prosperous* and *Perry* in the Country & must againe leive it to your discretion to dispose of our Shipping with you as you shall see ocasion & Judge most for the service of the Compa. it being Impossible for us to know soe well as you how to order that affaire, and wee haveing this year sent you as before Specified 21 stout lusty hands wee doubt not but you will see cause to send home as many as you can spare of the men with you at the highest wages that soe the Compies. charge may be eased, still Regarding the safety of the Factory.

Wee have taken into Consideration what you mention in severall parts of your Generall letter Concerning who shall succeed as Geovernour if Governr. Knight comes home this yeare, but hope he will see cause to continieu for one yeare longer which wee earnestly entreat him to doe hoping it will not much Incomode his perticuler affaires, & the rather because wee are in great hopes of a Generall peace in Europe this yeare, & then it will be more safe for him to come home, But if he is possitively resolved to returne this yeare Wee have now sent him full Comission & Authority to Nominate a Govr. to succeed him; as also a Deputy Govr. & all other officers whatsoever for Albany Fort & elsewhere in the Bottom of Hudsons Bay.

According to your desire wee have sent you a Young man for an Accomptant not doubting but he will prove both honest and Ingenious his name is Gilbert Kerr¹ & hath been well Instructed in accompts & seems very ready and knowing soe farr as wee have examined him.

¹ Gilbert Kerr was engaged for four years at £20 for the first year, £25 for the second, £30 for the third, and £40 for the fourth year (A.1/16, fo. 17d.).

As for the Flying report of our Suspecting the fidelity of Mr. Peters,¹ it is not in our power to prevent false reports as wee asshure you this is, & can onely say wee have sure Confidence in the Governour & Deputy Governour in all things relateing to our Interest.

Wee have given it in our Instructions to our Comanders to be aideing assisting & adviseing to you to the utmost of their powers upon all occasions as you shall see cause to require it of them, not that wee doe enjoyne you to call them to your Councell unless you thinke fitt soe to do.

Wee have sent you enclosed a table of Publique orders² to be hung up in the Factory as you desired, which wee strictly comand & enjoyne all our servts. to observe and keep.

Wee doubt not but you frequently cause your stores & provisions to be over halled that soe none may perish or decay, Peticulerly the stock Fish. We have ordered the Captaines to spare what provisions & necessaries they can, for which you are to give them Receipts mentioning perticulers that wee may know whome to charge with the same.

Wee must desire you to give our Ships all the dispatch that possible you can because wee have Injoyn'd them to keep Compa. & to goe to both Factories, they Being ordered not to stay longer then the 16th day of September.

Whereas in the foregoing part of this Lettr. wee have mentioned the sending a table of orders to be observed by all persons in the Factory being streightned in time wee shall omitt it for this yeare not doubting your takeing effectuall meanes to preserve the Factory in peace as heretofore, onely wee Recomend to you that you permit noe bills of Exchange to be drawne upon the Compa. by any but those whose accompts will beare it, as alsoe to be Witnessed by the Governr. and entred in a list and sent us home for our Government.

¹ Stephen Peters received "Sea Wages" at £2. 10s. 0d. per month from August 1692 until his return to England in October 1694 (A.15/4, fo. 88). He was presumably identical with the "Mr. Peters" referred to on p. 274.

² See below. For a copy of the rules dated January 7, 1695/96, exhibited by Captain James Knight at Albany, see *H.B.S.*, XVII, 176n.

Soe soone as the *Dering* Frigtt. Capt. Henry Baley shall have delivered to you our outward bound Cargoe wee doe order & direct you to Ship on board said Ship all such Beavor &c. other goods as you shall then have by you traded for the Compies. accompt sending us Invoice & bills of Loadeing for the same and be sure the same with the Generall letter onely be made up together as last yeare to save extravagant charge of Postage.

Wee have sent you a Lamb Skin for a tryall hoping you may Induce the Indians to use them for Lineing of their Coates &ca. which wee apprehend may be as warme & Convenient for them as Beavr. Skins, which if you can bring to pass wee may have yearely a greater Quantity of Parchmt. Beavr. wch. will be advantagious to us, & wee can send you what Quantity of Lamb & Sheep Skins you desire.

There is one Ambrose Yeate¹ shipped on board Capt. Baley as a comon seaman who upon Request of the Deputy Governour wee have given leave to stay in the Country for three yeares at twenty Pounds p. ann. provided he accept thereof & not otherwise.

Let all our servants soone after their arrivall with you take the usuall oath of fidelity to the Compa.

Wee have sent you 20 Bottles of Clarrett 5 ditto of hock 3 ditto of sack Soe and 6 Bottles of Sherry.

Wishing you all health & Prosperity Wee Remaine,

Your Loveing Freinds

SAMLL. CLARKE Deputy Governour

THOMAS PITTS

JNO. SMITH

ROBT. LANCASHIRE

JNO. NICHOLSON²

ROBT. NICHOLAS

Hudsons Bay House London
the 30th May 1694

¹ According to A.15/5, fo. 11, Ambrose Yeate (or Yeats) remained at the Bottom of the Bay until 1697, when he returned to England. His wages were at the rate of £24 per annum and not £20.

² John Nicholson of London, merchant, acquired Hudson's Bay Company

The Generall Letter to Govr. Walsh & the Rest of his
Councell at Yorke Fort.

Gentlemen

Yours of the 28th August last came safe to our hands by Capt. Edgcombe & Capt. Young who thanks be God arrived wth. us the 13th November Last with their Cargoes in good Condition By whome wee alsoe understood of the good circumstances of your Factory in all respects hoping that these may find you in the like.

The Provisions and Tradeing goods you Indented for last yeare wee have taken due care to Supply¹ in all respects notwithstanding the great difficulty and hazards of the Warr, and the extravagant prizes they are at, all wch. are Consigned you by the *Hudsons Bay* Frigtt. Capt. Michl. Grimington Comandr. whome God send safe to arrive with you as for the Peticulers wee refer you to the Enclosed Invoice & Bill of Ladeing.

Wee take it very kindley you were soe forward the last yeare to Supply the Governour in the Bay with what necessaries he desired & at the same time soe prudent as not to spare any thing to weaken your selves, for wee desire you should never spare any thing that is absolutely detrimental to you.

As for the unequallity of the standard Between your Factory & that of the Bottome of the Bay; wee have duely Considered thereof, But however would have you keep to your old standard till further orders from us. for all things here are soe intollerable deare almost double both Tradeing Goods & provisions & some much more, as alsoe the Beavr. &ca. wee receive from you not yeilding more then halfe what it formerly

stock in April 1689 and sold it in July of the following year. He again became a stockholder on November 9, 1693, and continued to hold varying amounts until his death before 1713. He was elected to the Committee in November of each year from 1693 until 1700, and in November of 1701 he became Deputy Governor. He was re-elected in November of the following eight years and the last meeting he attended was apparently that of June 23, 1710. In November 1710 he was once more elected to the Committee but he did not attend any meetings.

¹ A copy of the invoice of the goods sent to York Fort in 1694 in the *Royal Hudson's Bay* is in A.24/1, fos. 110-111d.

did, & yett not vendable, would cause us should wee encrease the standard to be losers Instead of gaineing by the Trade. therefore wee hope this Information will put you upon the Consideration of Improveing the standard By gaineing upon the Indians & makeing what new discoveries you can, not doubting but that you understand the nature & humores of the Indians as well as your Predecessors.

As for *the whale fishing on wch.* subject wee have soe often wrote you, wee could heartily wish there might be some progress made therein, Yett wee are very sensible of some difficulty there may be of effecting it this warr time however wee cannot conceive anything ought to hinder the procureing of such quantities as may be had soe neer your Factory, haveing now taken care to supply you with hands sufficient Being 19 in Number and stout Brave fellowes Princepally recomending to you the safety of your Factory.

Wee are very sorry to find our expectations frustrated the last yeare in the Quantity of Castorium haveing wrote soe largely for severall yeares before as alsoe given possitive orders *as we now againe doe, for the encourageing the trade thereof even to the standard of Beavor rather then faile, & that you should give the Indians more goods for that Comodity then they require for their encouragement to bring it downe* wee being well assured every Beavr. both male & female produceth one pr. Castorium stones, hope by this means to have in time as many paire of Castorium stones as Beavr. skins every yeare and the best way wee Judge to procure this is to tell the Indians when you give them any thing more then they aske for their Castorium that it's for their encouragemt. to bring it downe.

Wee must alsoe Peticularly *recomend to you the Improvemt. of the small Furr trade and the procureing all the Moose Skins you can & not suffer any of them to be cutt or otherwise used in the Factory* upon any termes whatsoever haveing sent you leather for Shoes & cloth for Breeches and other uses for they are a very Currant Comodity here & vendable tho the Quantity never soe great which is more then wee can say of Beavr. to our great sorrow. But for Martins Otters Fox Quequehatch

or any other Furrs are very currant, therefore endeavor the encrease thereof.

Wee should be very glad to heare that you have found out any new Comodity perticularly *Mines or Mineralls* Being credibly Informed such there are in the Country about you Iron Mines at least of which pray give us the Best accompt you can p. your next they are easily found by the Couler of the water that owzeth or springeth out of the earth where they are being of a Brownish Coulor some what enclineing to blew or seeming Greasy, which must be traced to the head of the spring, Copper mines the water green and Greasey, and send us Samples of such as you shall att any time find.

Haveing now sent you as wee have observed before a Sufficent number of able hands & noe doubt capable of being Instructed to Manage Gunns &ca. wch. wee desire may be done dureing the stay of our Ships day by day Injoyning the Gunners to Instruct them therein that soe they may be the more servicable after the departure of the Ships knowing you have hands Sufficent both to unlade & relade the ships & also to Instruct the men, wee alsoe would have you Instruct & discepline them in the use of their small armes & the manageing of the great Gunns at least twice a weeke that they may be the better able to defend our Factory at any time if need should require; In which perticuler wee find there has been a very great neglect heretofore wch. makes us the more strictly enjoyne it now, & for want Whereof the men could not Manage the great Gunns &ca. and soe there was forced to be seamen hired at extravagant wages very detrimentall to our Intrest & beyond what our trade will beare, wch. wee are possitively resolved to prevent for the future, & therefore will not have you take any out of the Ship this yeare to stay in the Country But on the Contrary direct you to send home¹ the Persons undermentioned viz.:

¹ According to the payments for wages as recorded in A.15/4 all appear to have returned to England except Andrew Johnson, Richard Johnson, Thomas Jacobs (commander of the *Albemarle*), and William Arnold, who remained at York Fort and were taken prisoners when the French captured that place on October 4, 1694.

Mr Hugh Verner	Richard Johnson
Andrew Johnson	Thomas Jacobs
David Emory	Peter Blomart
Danll. Hardie	Willm. Arnold
Step. Stanley	Robt. Moore
William Rayleigh	Thomas Hart
John Choub	Thomas Marshall
Ralph Dowsley	Lorance Clawson
Edward Stacey	Richard Stevenson
William Chappell	

Wee have now sent you the frames for your Iron Stowes wch. wee omitted to be sent with them the last yeare wch. you may use as you see Occasion.

Notwithstanding our former orders that noe bills of Exchange from any of our servants (whose accompt has credit for what they drawe) should be drawne on us without being attested by the Governr. under his hand & entred in a list to be sent us home, yet wee find this order hath not been observed and therefore wee doe resolve that wee will not accept nor pay any bills whatsoever that are not attested & entred as aforesaid, and that noe person may plead Ignorance herein wee have incerted this in our Publique orders to be hung up in the Factory.

Wee hope you will be very mindfull to overhall all the Tradeing Goods and stores remaineing in our Factory that none perish or decay for want of Being duely looked after stock fish perticularly, Assureing you that wee have this yeare taken all Imaginable care in the Provideing of our goods that wee doubt not but they will answer expectation, But if any defect should happen in the Gunns &ca. Pray give us a perticuler accompt what marke & whose make they are of.

As for Brazeele Tobacco and Irish *Brogues* wee have sent you a sufficient Quantity this yeare and very good.

We hope you will be more carefull this yeare then formerly to prevent all private trade for to our certaine knowledge there came this last yeare great Quantities of Castorium & Furs notwithstanding our former precautions on this accompt, wee haveing resolved to be more circumspect then ever in this

perticuler haveing fixed correspondence to take care thereof in all ports where our ships may come.

Wee are sorry to find such mismanred exprestions in the last Generall letter which wee impute to the rudeness & selfe conceite of that single person that underwrote the same. For the future lett the Generall Letters be signed by the Governr. Deputy Governr. & Councill, as alsoe your saileing orders to the Comanders &ca.

Wee have sent a surgion¹ to Remaine at Yorke Fort in stead of Petr. Blomart whome we order you to ship as surgion upon the *Hudsons Bay* Frigtt. homeward bound, the Compa. haveing their owne Chest of Medicines aboard sd. ship, & beshure you doe not permitt said Blomart to take any Medicines or Phisicke Bookes out of the Factory, but that they remaine there according to the first Intent (viz.) for the Factory's use.

Wee have ordered this new surgion to deliver to you an exact acctt. of what Medicines he hath used in the outward bound voyage which you must transmitt to us, and likewise you must Injoyne Peter Blomart to keep the like acctt. of the Consumtion homeward bound that soe wee may not be defrauded of our Chest.

Wee have ordered the Captaines to spare what provisions & necesaries they can, for which you are to give them receipts mentioning the Perticulers that wee may know who to charge wth. the same.

Wee have ordered both Capt. Baley in the *Dering* Frigtt. & Capt. Grimington in the *Hudsons Bay* Frigtt. to keepe Compa. to both Factories therefore you must be shure to give Capt. Grimington his dispacth in five dayes after his arrivall with you at furthest wind & weather Permitting.

Wee have given it in our Instructions to our Comanders to be aiding assisting & adviseing to you to the utmost of their power upon all occasions as you shall see cause to require it of them not that wee doe enjoyne you to call them to your Councill unless you shall see cause soe to doe but wee leave it to your discretion to call such to your Councill as you shall thinke fitt.

¹ Isaac Wood, surgeon, was engaged on May 16, 1694 (A.1/16, fo. 19d.).

Whereas in the foregoing part of this letter wee have mentioned the sending a table of orders to be observed by all persons in the Factory being streightned in time wee shall omitt it for this yeare not doubting your takeing effectuall meanes to preserve the Factory in peace as heretofore onely wee recomend to you the observeing our directions touching Bills of Exchange.

Soe soone as the *Hudsons Bay* Frigtt. Capt. Grimington Comander shall have delivered to you our outward bound cargoe, wee doe order & direct you to ship on board said ship all such Beavor & other goods as you shall then have by you traded for the Compies. accompt sending us Invoice & Bills of Loadeing for the same, and be sure the same with the generall lettr. onely bee put up together as last yeare & not with any thing else, or in box or Trunck to save extravagant postage.

Wee have sent you a lamb skin for a tryall, hoping you may Induce the Indians to use them for lineing of their coates &ca. which wee apprehend may be as warme & convenient for them as Beavor Skins which if you can bring to pass wee may have yearely a greater Quantity of Parchment Beavor which will be advantagious to us, & wee can send you what Quantity of Lamb & Sheep skins you desire.

Let all our servants soone after their arrivall with you take the usuall Oaths of Fidelity to the Compa.

Wee have sent you 20 Bottles of Clarrett 5 Ditto of Hock 3 Ditto of Sack and 6 Bottles of Sherry.

Wishing you all health & prosperity Wee Remaine

Your Loveing Freinds

SAMUELL CLARKE Deputy Governr.

THOMAS PITTS

JNO. SMITH

ROBT. LANCASHIRE

JNO. NICHOLSON

ROBT. NICHOLAS

Hudsons Bay House

London the 30th May 1694

The Compies. Perticular Letter to
Governr. Knight

After our kind respects to you these are to congratulate your great success in regaineing Albany Fort & what other Parts of Hudsons Bay were in the possession of the French, approveing in Generall of all the waies and methods you tooke to Effect the same, and Pursuant to your agreemt. made with us before you went on that Enterprize wee have unanimously agreed to the Payment of your five hundred pounds, and for some reasons reserved to our selves wee have sealed a bond from the Compa. for the same Payable wth. Interest which wee have delivered to Mr. Daniell Kingston your attorney not doubting but the same will be to your content.

Your Bundle of Beavor marked J K No (1) wee have likewise ordered to be Invested in a silver Tankard which shall be given to your sonne according to your desire.¹

By which you may see our punctuall compliance with our agreemt. and redinesse in granting your request not Reflecting on any persons from whome you have formerly mett with disappointments & unkind usage.

Wee are soe cautious of appointing any Person to succeed you as Governr. that may not be deserveing, that wee have resolved to Referr that matter to your care and prudence, as alsoe a Deputy Governr. and all other officers for Albany Fort and elce where in the Bottom of Hudsons Bay, and to that end have Comissionated you soe to doe which you have here enclosed.

But after all wee hope you will be prevailed upon to stay one yeare longer in which time there is great Propability of a Generall Peace in Europe & then of Consequence there will be much greater safety in your passage home, as alsoe to us of a Compleat settlemtt. of the Bottom of the Bay. Soe Wishing you all health and happines wee Remaine.

Your Loveing Freinds
SAML. CLARKE Deputy Governr.
THOMAS PITTS
JNO. SMITH
ROBT. LANCASHIRE

¹ See p. 277.

JNO. NICHOLSON
ROBT. NICHOLAS

Hudsons Bay House
London the 30th May 1694

(L S)

The Compies. Comission to Governr. James Knight
The Governr. and Compa. of Adventrs. of England Tradeing
into Hudsons Bay
To Capt. James Knight Governr. of Albany Fort and all other
places in the Bottom of Hudsons Bay
Greeting

By vertue of the power and authourity to us given by King
Charles the second by his Lettrs. pattents under the great
seale of England beareing date the the 2d day of May in the
22th yeare of his Reigne & Confirmed by act of Parliament
in the second yeare of their present Majties. Reigne, Wee
doe hereby Impower you Capt. James Knight before your
departure from Albany Fort, to nominate and appoint such
person as you shall thinke most capable & deserveing to
succeed you as Governr., of Albany Fort and all other places
in the Bottome of Hudsons Bay, as also to nominate and
appoint such person and persons to be Deputy Governr. and
of the Councill of the said place or places and in all other
offices & Imployments as you shall thinke most capable &
deserveing & to give & grant them all such Comissions under
your hand in writeing & sealed wth. the Comon seale of the
Compa. with such powers and authorities as is usuall in the
like Cases, in Comissions granted by us here or as you shall
thinke most Convenient all which wee doe hereby Ratifie and
Confirme to bee as good & Effectuall to all Intents & purposes
as if wee had made and granted the same our selves,

Witness our hands & the Comon seale of the said Compa.
the 30th day of May Anno Dom. 1694.

SAMUELL CLARKE Deputy Governr.
THOMAS PITTS

JOHN SMITH
ROBT. LANCASHIRE

JOHN NICHOLSON
ROBT. NICHOLAS

MAY 30, 1694

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The Compies. Letter to
Mr. Stephen Sinclar

Wee have received yours of the 11th Septemb. last from Albany Fort, and are glad to heare of your good health in perticuler and of the Factories in generall wee are very well sattisfied that you have noe waies been wanting in your station to discharge your duty, as also wee are entirely well sattisfied in the Conduct of Governr. Knight and of his management of all affaires Being sencible of the many Fatigues he underwent in accomplishing his expedition, wee hope wee have prevailed with him to stay one yeare longer both for his safety and our sattisfaction, But if other wise wee have Comissionated him to Nominate his successor and all other officers not doubting but whome he shall Preferr will discharge their trust to our sattisfaction.

As to the Bundle of Beavor marked S S it shall be disposed of and the produce paid to your attorney as you desire as also the two Coates by Capt. Grimington and Capt. Baley as you have ordered them, soe recomending to you all Frugallity.

Wishing you all health peace and prosperity wee Remaine.

Your Loveing Freinds

SAMUELL CLARKE Deputy Governour

THOMAS PITTS

JOHN SMITH

ROBT. LANCASHIRE

JOHN NICHOLSON

ROBT. NICHOLAS

Hudsons Bay House

London the 30th May 1694

The Compies. Letter to
Mr. John Fullartine

We received yours of the 10th September last with one therein from Mr. Hugh Verner the contents whereof wee have observed & comend you for sending it to us.

Wee are very glad to heare you have been soe forward in

the Performance of your duty, according to your station, dureing the whole time of wintering and in takeing Albany Fort, and doubt not of your readiness to serve the Compa. and to promote their Interest in what you lies for the future, Soe wishing you all health and safety wee remaine

Your Loveing Freinds

SAMUELL CLARKE Deputy Governr.

THOMAS PITTS

JOHN SMITH

ROBT. LANCASHIRE

JOHN NICHOLSON

ROBT. NICHOLAS

Hudsons Bay House

London the 30th May 1694

The Compies. Letter to
Capt. Charles Coatsworth

Yours of the 22d August last from Yorke Fort & the 10th Septemb. last from Albany Fort are come safe to our hands whereby wee perceive your speedy & safe passage from Albany to Yorke Fort & back, and are glad to find you have from time to time been ready on all occasions to performe the Governrs. comands in the dispatch of the Compies. Affaires. as for your Returning for Europe or remaineing longer in Hudsons Bay wee cannot possibly determine haveing left the disposall of that affaire to Governr. Knight who is best Judge of the occasion not doubting your readiness in complying with what he shall order which will be kindly takeing from you at your returne asshureing you that wee shall be alwaies ready & willing to reward those who have made it their buisiness to Promote the Compies. Interest.

Soe wishing you health & safe to arive with us in due season wee Remaine.

Your Loveing Freinds

SAMUELL CLARKE Deputy Governr.

THOMAS PITTS

MAY 30, 1694

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JOHN SMITH
ROBT. LANCASHIRE
JOHN NICHOLSON
ROBT. NICHOLAS

Hudsons Bay House
London the 30th May 1694

The Perticular Letter to Governr. Walsh at Yorke Fort
Governour Walsh

Yours of the 5th September last came safe to our hands by which wee understand that pursuant to our Comission then sent you, you were in full possesion of the Governmt. of Yorke Fort.

Wee doe not in the least doubt but you will to the utmost of your power discharge your duty in that Capasity.

Wee are sorry that you seme to Resent any unkindness done you by us in Respect of your sallery or otherwise, wee haveing formerly given you ashurance as wee doe now againe, that you should alwayes meete with as Kind usage from the Compa. as any of your Predicessours had done in your severall stations.

Wee are glad to see you are sencible of the Refreshment the garden seeds produceth you and that you will to the utmost Improve the same, wee have declined sending over Cattle for the present as you desire of us, wee Referr our selves to you more at Large in the Generall Letter But *perticulery Recomend to you the Increase of the Castorium Moose Skin and small Furr Trade* Beavr. being in Reallity become a drug, not yeilding above 6s. or 7s. P[£] for the Governmt. as to what you write Concerning Sr. Edw. Dering haveing Received your money, it was pursuant to the authority you gave him, and you might well have taken it unkindly from the Compa. had they Refused to have complied therwith, but as to Receiveing it of him againe it cannot be done without his consent not but that wee have discoursed him upon that subject in your favour who gives us for answer that as he Recd. it by your order soe he disbursed it Likewise and was yet ready to act further as you

should direct & wee hope in the end you may bee noe looser by him.

Wee doe not know any otherwise but that wee directed our generall Letter Last yeare to Governr. Geyer & the Rest of the Councell at Yorke Fort where of you were one soe that it did as much concerne you to answer it as others, and wee doe expect our generall Letter should be subscribed by your selfe Deputy Governr. and Councell, wee hope you will make it your study to keepe the Factory in peace and Promote the Compies. Intrest in all Respects, and as you well observe that by the Frugallity you may abate the vast charge the Compa. is at which wee hope you will studdy to doe.

Soe wishing you all health and safety wee Remaine

Your Loveing Freinds

SAMUELL CLARKE Deputy Govr.

THOMAS PITTS

JOHN SMITH

ROBT. LANCASHIRE

JOHN NICHOLSON

ROBT. NICHOLAS

Hudsons Bay House

London the 30th May 1694

The Perticular Letter to

Capt. Phillip Parsons

Wee received yours of the 6th Septemb. last from Yorke Fort & are glad to heare of your safe arivall there, as alsoe that you found all things to answer expectation in all respects, Not doubting but you will be ready & willing upon all occasions to discharge your duty in your station, being asshured that your Interest depends upon your dilligence and forwardness to promote the Compies. Interest.

By the returne of the *Hudsons Bay* Frigtt. by whome wee have Consigned the goods & stores for Yorke Fort according to the last year's Indent,

MAY 30, 1694

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Wee doe expect a full & ample accompt from you of all affaires as you promise in your letter.

Soe referring you to the Generall letters both of this & the last yeare and wishing you all health & prosperity wee Remaine

Your Loveing Freinds

SAMLL. CLARKE Deputy Governr.

THOMAS PITTS

JOHN SMITH

ROBT. LANCASHIRE

JOHN NICHOLSON

ROBT. NICHOLAS

Hudsons Bay House

London the 30th May 1694

Saileing Orders & Instructions to Capt. Henry Baley

Capt. Baley

- 1 You are to saile directly for Yorke Fort either through the Chanell, or North about as wind and weather shall permit In Compa. wth. Capt. Grimington and there to stay till he hath dispatched his busines and then you are both to sale in Compa. for Albany River, to which place you are Consigned where you are to deliver the Compies. packett & to unlade all such goods stores & provisions as you have on board you, Consigned by bill of Loading & to receive all such goods as Governr. Knight &ca. have to lade on board you for England.
- 2 In case you loose Compa. with Capt. Grimington & the yeare be so farr spent that you have noe hopes of getting to Yorke Fort by the 22 August, then you are to make the best of your way for Albany River, where you are to make all posible dispatch you can in unladeing what goods you have for that place, & take in such goods as shall be shipped on board you for England & to stay noe longer there then the 15th of September.
- 3 And wee doe require each of you to be aiding & assisting each other with your boates & men at Both

places in unladeing & Loading your Ships & in Ballasting of them, or in any other thing that may Conduce to your speedy dispatch.

- 4 You are alsoe hereby Constituted Comander in cheife for this voyage, therefore wee require & Comand Capt. Michll. Grimington (or whome elce shall returne wth. you) to advise & consult with you & obey your orders upon all Emergencies dureing your outward & homeward bound voyage, not doubting but you will Likewise Consult & agree with him or them in all things for the generall good and advantage of the Compa.
- 5 And in case you shall meete with or be attacked by any Enemy in this voyage either outward or homeward (which God forbid) or upon any other extrordinary accident or ocasion that shall hapen (as wee have Comanded Capt. Grimington to doe the like to you) soe wee doe hereby likewise order you to stand by & assist him for the better defence of our ships & goods.
- 6 Wee hope wee shall not need to Enjoyne you that the Publick service of Almighty God be duely performed on board your shipp.
- 7 If in your outward or homeward bound voyage, you meete with any ship or ships in Hudsons Bay or streights whether sailed by their Majties. subjects or strangers not being in the Companies Imploy, wee doe by vertue of our charter prohibiting all such, Confirmed by act of Parliament hereby require & authorise you to seize them with all goods & stores on board them as Lawfull prise, & soe bring them without Imbeselment for England in order to be proceeded against according to Law.
- 8 You are alsoe dureing your stay in Hayes River & in the Bottome of the Bay to follow obey & execute all such orders as the Governr. of either place for the time being, with the advice of his Councell shall give you in charge for our service.
- 9 The Compies. Packett of Letters & signall take care to destroy in case you are in danger of being taken by the enime either outward or homeward bound.

- 10 And when it shall please God you arrive in England
send the Compies. packett of Lettrs. onely by the first
oportunity leaveing all other percells on board.
- 11 Wee alsoe order you in the homeward Bound voyage
that you saile directly for the Downes wind and weather
permitting & from thence without delay for the River of
Thames where you are to follow such orders as you shall
from time to time Receive from us.
- 12 You haveing on board above six Monthes provisions
of all sorts wee doe expect you should be good Husbands
of it, that you may be in a Condition to spare to the
Governr. of Yorke Fort Considerable of the above said
Provisions and wee have ordered the Governr. that you
should have Receipts for what Provisions or stores you
deliver with the Perticulars.
- 13 Wee doe expect that all the Passengers on board you,
have the same allowance of Provision and accommodations
as your Ships Compa. have and that they doe take the
watch as they doe.

Soe wishing you a prosperous Voyage & safe returne to us
wee Remaine

Your Loveing Freinds
SAMUELL CLARKE Deputy Governr.
THOMAS PITTS
JOHN SMITH
ROBT. LANCASHIRE
JOHN NICHOLSON
ROBT. NICHOLAS

Hudsons Bay House
London the 30th May 1694

Saileing orders & Instructions to Capt. Michael Grimington
Capt. Grimington

- 1 You are to saile directly for Yorke Fort in Hudsons
Bay either through the Chanell or North about as wind
& weather shall permitt in Compa. wth. Capt. Henry

Baley to which place you are Consigned, where you are to deliver the Compies. packett & all such goods stores & provisions as goe Consigned to that place pr. bill of Loading, & to Receive on board you all such goods & Merchantdize as shall be Laden on board you for England by the Governour &ca. for the time being.

- 2 And in case you loose Compa. wth. Capt. Baley & it soe happen that you arrive not at Yorke Fort before the 16th of August you must stay noe longer at farthest then the 22th Ditto & in which time wee Question not but you will have dispatched your busines & then to saile directly for Albany River to Joyne Capt. Baley there.

- 3 But in case you find not Capt. Baley there you are to stay noe longer then the 15th Septemb. & then to make the best of your way for England.

- 4 But if you arrive at Yorke Fort early in August you are to stay noe longer there then 5 workeing dayes if possible you can comply with your busines in that time & then to saile directly for Albany River in Compa. with Capt. Baley and from thence with him for England whome wee have Constituted Comander in Cheife for this Voyage therefore wee Require & Comand you to Consult and advise with and follow all such orders as you shall Receive from him upon all Emergencies dureing your outward & homeward bound voyage & in all other matters wee doubt not but that you will act and doe for the generall good and Advantage of the Compa.

- 5 And in case you shall meete wth. or be attacked by any Enemy in this voyage either outward or homeward (which God forbid) or Upon any other extraordinary accident or occasion that shall hapen (as wee have Comanded Capt. Baley to doe the like by you) soe wee doe hereby Likewise order you to stand by & assist him, for the Better defence of our Shippes and goods.

- 6 Wee hope wee need not to Enjoyne you that the Publick service of Almighty God bee performed on board your Shipp.

- 7 If in your outward or homeward bound voyage you meete with any Shipp or Shipps in Hudsons Bay or streights whether sailed by theire Matie. subjects or strangers not being in the Compies. service, wee doe by vertue of our Charter prohibbiting all such Confirmed by act of Parliament hereby Require & authorize you to seize them with all goods and stores on board them as Lawfull prize and to bring them with out Imbeselment for England in order to be proceeded against according to Law.
- 8 You are alsoe dureing your stay in Hayes River and in the Bottome of the Bay to follow obey and execute all such orders as the Governr. of either place for the time being with the Advice of his Councell shall give you in charge for our service.
- 9 The Compies. packett of Letters & signall take care to destroy in case you are in danger of being taken by the Enemy either outward or home ward bound.
- 10 And when it shall please God you arrive in England send the Compies. packett of Lettrs. onely by the first oportunity leaveing all other percels on board.
- 11 Wee alsoe order you in yr. home ward bound Voyage that you saile directly for the Downes wind & weather permitting and from thence without delay for the River of Thames where you are to follow such orders as you shall from time to time Receive from us.
- 12 You haveing on board above six monthes provisions of all sorts wee doe expect you should be good husbands of it that you may be in a Condition to spare to the Governr. of Yorke Fort Considerable of the above said provisions and wee have ordered the Governour that you should have Receipts for what provisions & stores you deliver with the perticulars.
- 13 Wee doe expect that all your pasangers on board you have the same alowance of Provision & accommodations as your Ships Compa. have, & that they doe take the watch as they doe.

Soe wishing you a prosperous Voyage and safe Returne to
us wee Remaine

Your Loveing Freinds
SAMUELL CLARKE Deputy Governr.
THOMAS PITTS
JOHN SMITH
ROBT. LANCASHIRE
JOHN NICHOLSON
ROBT. NICHOLAS

Hudsons Bay House
London the 30th May 1694

Coppy of the Instrument given to the Seamen of the *Dering*
& *Hudson Bay* Friggts.

For the Encouragement of such seamen as goe in the
service of the Right Honble. the Hudsons Bay Compa. this
present voyage altho their duty obleidges them to defend our
Interest as being in our pay, yet for their satisfaction wee doe
hereby ashure every one & declare that if any man Behaveing
himselſe manfully & Bravely in the defence of our ships goods
and Factory shall happen to be wounded or killed, wee will
take effectual care for such Reparation and subsistance to them
& their's, as shall be equevolent to the Kings Gracious
Proclamation, in such cases.

In Testimony of which wee have hereunto set our hands.

SAMLL. CLARKE Deputy Governr.
THOMAS PITTS
JOHN SMITH
ROBT. LANCASHIRE
JOHN NICHOLSON
ROBT. NICHOLAS

JUNE 2, 1694

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Letter wrote to Capt. Baley & Capt. Grimington at Alborough
after theire Saileing from Gravesend.

Capt. Baley &
Capt. Grimington

Wee have this day Received Intimation that from Dunkerke
are Ready to saile if not already gone out to sea, 23 saile of
French men of warr, and our Information gives us they are
designed Northwards, wee send you this advice by the Bearer
on purpose that you may take measures accordingly for our
& your safety, therefore it is our order that you proceed for
the Downes & their Remaine for our further order, unless you
find the wind to present faire to goe through the Chanell, and
then in such case you are without farther order to make the
best of your way on your Intended voyage.

Soe Comitting you to the devine Protection wee Remaine
Your Loveing Freinds

SAMUELL CLARKE Deputy Governr.

THOMAS PITTS

JOHN SMITH

ROBT. LANCASHIRE

JOHN NICHOLSON

ROBT. NICHOLAS

London the 2d June 1694

the above sd. Letter Brought Back missing of the Shippes

Capt. James Knight his Comission for Governr.
of Hudsons Bay¹

Maria Regina

William & Mary by the Grace of God King & Queen of
Engld. Scotland France & Ireland Defenders of the Faith &ca.
To our Trusty and welbeloved Capt. James Knight Greeting.
Wee reposing speciall trust & Confidence in your Loyalty &
Courage doe by these presents constitute & appoint you to be
our Governr. and Comander in Cheife (in the room & place

¹ For reference to this commission see p. 145.

of Capt. Jno. Marsh deceased) of all & every our Forts, Factorys, Lands & Territorys wth. their Dependencys contained & lying in the Bottom of the Bay within the streights commonly called Hudsons streights in America, and in particular of the respective Factorys and Forts called or lately called, Albany Fort, Moose River, & Rupert Rivr. & all other Factorys, Forts & places wch. are or may have been since new erected, settled, discovered or recovered, & wch. formerly have been or of Right doe belong to Us, & are or were granted by the charter of our late Royall Unkle King Charles the second to the Governr. & Compa. of adventurers of England tradeing into Hudsons Bay & their successors; and Wee doe hereby authorize and empower you by force of arms to recover and reposses all such places, Forts & Factorys wth. the Territorys thereto belonging, as were of late by the French injuriously taken from the said Hudsons Bay Compa., and by all the force you can both by sea & land offensively & defensively to take & seize any French ships or vessells, men, goods & effects whatsoever & wheresoever to repaire & repreize the damages soe sustained by the said Compa., for the better effecting of wch. & more security of our places, wee doe require & authorize you & the Governors there resident for the time being from time to time to enter into what Leagues & alliances you can or shall thinke necessary with the native Indians particularly against the French for the honour of the Crowne of England & for the advantage of the Hudsons Bay Compa., and the encreasing of the Beavr. trade, & to protect and assist all such Indians as are freinds to & trade with the said Compa. against any nations of the Indians, that are that are in alliance or Confederacy wth. the French, & wee doe require & Comand you & all others serveing under you, to the utmost to maintaine & Defend all such places Factorys & Territorys as shall be under your Comand against any the subjects of the French King or any pretending to act by any Commission or authority under him or any other whatsoever contrary to our Royall Right & propriety, requireing all persons of what degree whatsoever within the Limitts & precints of your Commission to be obedient to your Comands

in all things for the recovery or better defence of the said places, & promoting & securin the Interest & Benefit of the said Hudsons Bay Compa. and if any ship or ships vessell or vessells belonging to any of our subjects, or navigated by such, shall from time to time be within the Limets of the said Hudsons Bay, Wee doe will & require the Commanders & seamen & all others belonging to the same & every of them, & all other our Loveing subjects, to be aideing and assisting to you, and to follow & obey such orders as they shall from time to time receive from you, for the recovery & better defence & preservation of our Rights Territorys & places against all persons whatsoever according to the priviledges granted to the said Compa. when & as often as need shall require upon pain of Our high displeasure & as they will answer the Contrary at their perill, & you are to follow and observe such farther orders & Instructions as you shall from time to time receive from Us, the Governr. Depty. Governor, & Committee of the said Hudsons Bay Company resideing in England pursuant to this Comission and the trust reposed in you. Given att our Court att Whitehall the 15th day of June 1692 in the fourth yeare of Our Reigne.

By Her Majts. Command
NOTTINGHAM

Mr. Charles Goodfellow ¹

June the 21 1695

Wheareas Mr. Samuell Clarke Deputy Governr. of the Hudsons Bay Compa. hath Coresponded with you, in order to yr. goeing to Russia in the said Compa. Employ, & hath made propositions by the Directions of the Comittee, which wee now againe Confirme. And doubt not but are acceptable to you which are as followeth viz. That they will give you Two hundred pounds ster. pr. Ann. Certaine & pay the same where & to whome you shall Advize for 2 years Comenceing from the time of your Embarcation & allow you all Traveling Charges thats done upon their accott., And they doubt not but by your sedulity & dilligence you will Improve our Trade & Interest in that Time that you will have further Encouragement to Continue there in our Employ, which wee shall Readily acquiesse to for wee are ashured that in that Countrey thers vended a vast Quantity of Beavor, & as wee have ben Informed to the number of 50 in 60000 skins yearly, whereof wee understand (you know) wee Can furnish you even to what Quantity you shall bee able to sell there, & for your direction & Governace wee have sett up some memorandums, which wee have here Inclosed sent you, wee doe also Expect that you give bond to the Compa. that neither for your selfe nor any other you will directly or Indirectly deale or Intermedle in any Beavor skins but for their accompts, & for this purpose you shall have a Bond sent you, with the first good Conveniency, farther wee have not to Add at present but wish you a Prosperous voyage & Remaine

¹ A.1/17, fo. 13, At a Committee, June 21, 1695, "The Comittee were now pleased to agree that Mr. Charles Goodfellow now at Hambro, should bee Entertained as the Compies. Factor & proceed to Rushia upon the Compies. accott. & did agree to Entertaine him for 2 years Certaine at the Rate of £200 pr. Ann., provided his Commission for the Sale & Returne of goods for the Compies. accott, should not amount to that sune, as also to allow him his Traveling Charges when upon the Compies. Busines. The Deputy Governor was desired to draw up a Letter to bee wrote him upon this matter, which the Comittee are to signe this night in order to bee sent him, At the same time did enjoyne secresey to the Members of the Comittee, as Likewise to the Secretary present".

JUNE 21, 1695

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Your Loveing Freinds ¹
SAML. CLARKE Dep. Govr.
THOMAS PITTS
JOHN NICHOLSON
JOHN SMITH
JOHN PERRY
PETER HUDSON ²

P.S.

our meaning is that in Case yr. Comission amo. not to £200
pr. Ann. that wee will make soe much good to you as our
Comission shall fall short thereof.

To Mr. Charles Goodfellow
at Hambro.

¹ For the names of the men elected in November 1694 to serve for one year as Governor, Deputy Governor, and on the Committee, see Appendix A, p. 311.

² Peter Hudson of London, Gunpowder Maker. References to him will be found in *H.B.S.*, VIII and IX. He first held stock from January 1687 until February 1693. He again became a stockholder in September 1694 and held varying amounts until he sold out in January 1700. In the following May he once more bought Hudson's Bay Company stock and held varying amounts until his death between 1703 and 1713. He was elected to the Committee in November 1694 and held office for one year.

Mr. Jno. Fullerton
Sr.

this is answer to yrs. of the 8th Sept. 1694 & wee well approve of Governr. Knights Choice in makeing you his Dept. a person of whom wee have had experience of yr. fidelity & Industry in our Service, & doubt not your Continuance therein will improve that good opinion wee have of you to yr. Advantage, wee wanting noe good enclin to encorage those Servants who wee find faithfull to our Intrest wee are well sattisfied with your Conduct at Gilpin Island & wish you had, had goods to have answered the trade that offerred there, as alsoe for yr. endeavour of keeping a good Correspondence, with those Indians, Wee desire you to make what *other discoveryys you can in any* other comodities beside beavor, *As well Mineralls as others which in some* respect may be discovered by yr. observance of the sands of the Rivers in the Summer Season or mountanous land. As to the Fifteen Beavor Skins you mention'd to have traded for your owne goods its quite Contrary to the Compies. Custome & Standing orders, which can be noe wise dispenced wth. in any person whatever, however you shall be noe Sufferer at last by the Confidence you put in us by Delivering those traded goods into the warehouse, & seeing you find you are denyed to trade, wee expect you doe the same to all others that are or may be at any time under your Regulation.

Hudsons Bay House
the¹

The Coppy as above, followes the Generall & Perticular Letter to Govr. Knight.

L S

Instructions for Such Merchants & others who shall have Commissions, or Lettrs. of Marque, or Comissions for Private

¹ This letter was dated May 30, 1696. See p. 277, and for the reasons given for not sending any ships to the Bay in 1695 see p. 275.

Men of Warr against the French King his Subjects, or, Inhabitants within any of his Territorys or dominions, by vertue of their Majties. Comission under the great seale of England bearing date the 26 day of June 1689, Given at our Court at Whitehall the 2d day of May 1693 in the fifth yeare of our Reign.

*Instructions for
Capt. Henry
Bayley 1696*

Marie R

- 1 That it shall be lawfull for the sd. Merchts. & others, authorized by our letters of Mart, or Comissions for a Private Man of Warr, to sett upon by force of armes, & to subdue & take the Men of Warr, Ships, & other Vessells whatsoever as also the Goods, moneys & Merchandizes belonging to the French king & his Subjects, & Inhabitants within any of his Territories or Dominions, & such other ships vessells & goods as are, or shall be liable to Confiscation but soe as that noe Hostility be committed, nor prize attacked, seized, or taken, within the Harbors of Princes & States in Amity with us, or in their Rivers or Roads within shott of their Cannon.
- 2 That the Treaties between their Majties. their Allies be punctually observed, that there may be noe undue Interruption of their Commerce.
- 3 Nevertheless the ships belonging to any Prince or State in Warr with France, or belonging to Altena, Gluckstadt, Hamburgh, Lubeck, Dantzick, & other Cities & places of the Empire, as well on the East Sea, as on the Rivrs. of the Elb, Weezer & Eems, although belonging to the King Sueden Denmark, or other Princes or States as Members, of the Empire, which shall be bound to, or comeing from France or any the dominions of the French King, may bee taken as Prize.
- 4 That all Ships of any other Nation that are bound to France or the Dominions of the French King from any place in Warr with France, or subject to the advocatories of the Empire, or shall come from France bound to any such place shall be taken as Prize, unless they be onely in Ballast.

- 5 That all ships carrying any Contraband Goods to France, may be seized also.
- 6 That all sorts of Fireworks, & things thereto belonging, as Cannon, Musquets, Mortars, Petards, Bombs, Granadoes Saucissers, Peckransan, Carriages, Rests, Bandaliers, powder, Match, Salt peter, Bullets, Pikes, Swords, head peices, Cuirasses, Halbards, Horses, Saddles, Holsters, belts sailework, Riging, Cables, Cordage, Masts, Lead Pitch, Tarr, Hemp, togeather wth. all other Equipage that serves for sea or land, laden in Danish ships & bound to the Enemies Country are accounted Contraband Goods.
- 7 That the same Goods or Merchantdizes laden in the ships belonging to the Neuter Towns bound to the Enemies Court are to be Reputed Contraband.
- 9 That Danish ships being furnished wth. the pasports togeather wth. the authentick Certificates relateing to the oaths required by the Convention wth. Denmark; the Form of wch. oaths & pasports are hereunto annexed may pass freely, except such ships as have not disposed of their whole ladeing in the first port of France where they touched, but together wth. the remainder of their Ladeing, haveing taken in other goods in that first port of France, & are proceeding towards another Place within the Limitts or Territories of the French King wth. the same, & also except in the Cases before mention'd.
- 10 That the ships belonging to the Subjects of Sueden being provided wth. passports & Certificates according to the 12 Article of the Treaty betwixt England & Sueden, (wch. is here unto annexed) shall not be molested otherwise then as in the sd. Article is mention'd, or in the Cases before Exprest, & that Suedish ships which shall appear to have sett saile out of any Suedish port before the first day of May, in the yeare 1693 shall not be detained in Case the Master or Supra Cargo thereof shall take the like oath as is required by the form of a Suedish pass, Comprehended in the sd. 12 Article.
- 11 That the sd. Merchts. & others shall bring such ships

& Goods as they shall soe seize & take, to such port of this our Realm of England as shall be most Convenient for them, in order to have the same legally adjudged in Our High Court of Admiralty, unless it be in such cases where it is otherwise provided by the act of Parliament hereunto annexed made in the 4th & 5th years of Our Reigne Intituled, an act for Continuing the acts for prohibiting all Trade & Commerce wth. France, & for the Encouragemt. of Privateers.

- 12 That after such ship shall be taken & brought into any port, the taker shall be obliged to bring or send as soone as posible may bee, three or foure of the Principall of the Compa. (whereof the Master & the Pilot to be alwayes two) of every ship soe brought into port, before the Judge of the Admiralty of England, or his Surrogate, or such as shall be Comissioned by him, to be sworne & Examined upon such Interrogatories as shall tend to the discovery of the Truth touching the Intrest or propriety of such ship or ships, & of the Goods or Merchantdizes found therein; & the taker shall be further obliged at the time he produceth the Compa. to be examined, to bring & deliver into the hands of the Judge of the Admiralty of England his Surrogate, or others Comissioned as aforesaid, all such passes, sea breifes, Charter parties Bills of Ladeing, Cocquets, Letters, & other documents & writeings as shall be delivered up, or found on board any such ships, the sd. taker, or one of his Cheife officers who was present, & Saw the sd. papers & writeings deld. up, or otherwise found on Board at the time of the Capture makeing oath that the sd. papers & writeings are brought & deld. in as they were received or taken without any Fraud, Addition, Subduction or Imbezelment.

- 13 That all such ships, Goods & Merchantdizes taken by vertue of Letters of Marque or Reprizal, shall be put into the possession of, & safely kept & preserved by the persons authorized & Impowered by the Act of Parliament hereunto annexed, & noe part of them shall

be sold, spoil'd waisted, or Diminished; & that the Bulk there of shall not be broken before Judgment be given in the Court of Admiralty, that the Ship, Goods & Merchandizes are lawfull prize, & that noe person or persons taken or surprized in any ship or vessell as aforesd. though known to be of the Enemies party, shall be in cold Blood killed, maimed or by torture or Cruelty inhumanly treated, Contrary to the Common usage & just permission of Warr; And whosoever shall offend in any of the premises, shall be Severely Punished.

14 That the sd. Merchants, Comanders of ships, & others who shall obtaine the sd. Letters of Marque, or Comissions as aforesd. for Private Men of Warr, shall not doe or attempt any thing against the true meaning of any Article or Articles, Treaty or Treatys depending between Us & any of Our Allies, touching the fredome of Commerce in time of war, & the authority of the pasports or Certificates under a Certaine form in some one of the Articles or Treatys soe depending between us & our Allies as aforesd. when produced & shewed by any of the Subjects of our sd. Allies, & shall not doe or Attempt any thing against our Loveing Subjects or the Subjects of any Prince or State in Amity wth. Us, nor against their Ships, Vessells or Goods, but onely against the French King his subjects & inhabitants within his Dominions, their Ships, Vessells or goods & against such other ships, Vessells as are or shall be Liable to Confiscation.

15 That after such Condemnation of any prize, it shall & may be lawfull to & for the sd. Merchants & others to take into their owne possession such and soe many ships, Vessells Goods & Merchantdizes as shall be Condemned unto them for lawfull Prize, to make sale & dispose thereof in open Market or otherwise to their best advantage, Provided that in such ship or Vessell there be noe Goods or Merchandizes of the Growth production or Manufacture of the Dominions of the French King & Except in all Cases wherein it is otherwise provided by the act of Parliament hereunto annexed.

- 16 That Our Subjects, & all other persons whatsoever, who shall either in their owne persons serve or bear any Charge or Adventure or in any sort further or sett forward the sd. Adventr. According to these Articles Shall stand & bee freed by vertue of the sd. Comission & that noe person be in any wise reputed or challeng'd for an offender against our Laws, but shall be freed under our protection of & from all trouble and vexation that might in any wise grow thereby, in the same manner as any other our Subjects ought to be by law in their aideing & assisting us either in their owne persons or otherwise in a lawfull Warr against our declared Enemies.
- 17 That the sd. Merchts. and others before the takeing out Comissions, shall give notice in writeing, subscribed wth. their hands to our Comissioners for Executeing the Office of Lord High Admiral of England, for the time being or to the Lieutenant or Judge of our sd. Court of Admiralty, or his Surrogate, of the name of the ship & of her Tonage & Burthen, & the Names of the Cpts. & owners or setters out of the sd. ship, with the number of men & the names of the Officers in her, & for what time they are Victualled, & alsoe of their Ordinance Furniture & Amunition, to the end the same may bee Registered in the sd. Court of Admiralty.
- 18 That those Merchts. Cpts. & others, who shall have such Lettrs. of Marque or Comissions as aforesd. shall hold & keepe, & are hereby enjoyned to hold & keepe a Correspondence by all Conveniences & upon all occasions from time to time with our Comissioners for Executeing the Office of Lord High Admirall of England, soe as from time to time to render & give unto them not onely an account or Intelligence of their Captures or proceedings by vertue of such their Letters of Marque or Comissions as aforesd. but also whatsoever else shall accur unto them or be discovered or declared unto them, or found out by them, by Examination of, or Conference wth. any Mariners or passengers of, or in the ships or

vessells taken, or by any other wayes or means whatsoever touching or Concerning the designs of the Enemies, or any of their Fleets, ships, vessells or parties; & of the Stations, Seas, Ports & Places, & of their Intents therein; & of what Mercht. Ships, or vessells of the Enemies bound out or home as they shall heare of, and of what else materiall in these Cases may arrive to their knowledge, to the end such course may be there upon taken, & such orders given as may be requisite.

19 That such Merchts. Comanders of Ships, & others who shall obtaine such Lettrs. of Marque or Comissions as aforesd. shall not wear our Colours, commonly call'd the Union Jack or Pendant, on board such ship or vessell by them fitted out in pursuance of such Our Comission in Compa. of any of our men of War, or so neare any other men of Warr belonging to any Nation in Amity wth. us, soe as to occasion any salute from them, or in or near any port or roade whatsoever, & that two third parts of the whole Compa. of every such ship or vessell soe fitted out as aforesd. shall be Land men, & that they shall & are hereby required to Cruize against the French, & not to Merchandize dureing the Continuance of such our Comission, without the perticular Comission of our Commissioners, for Executeing the office of Lord High Admirall of England now & for the time being, soe to doe.

20 That all Merchants, Comanders, Officers, Mariners & others, who shall either in their owne persons serve or beare any Charge, or in any sort further or sett forward the sd. Adventure, shall & are hereby direct'd & required (soe far as they or any of them are therein Concern'd) Carefully to observe all & every matter & thing concerning Prizes, & the shares, Propotion & Rewards of & for the same, which are directed to be observed in the aforesd. Act of Parliament annexed, which is also hereby made part of these Our Instructions.

21 That all Persons who shall Violate these Instructions

shall be severely punished, & also required to make full Reparation to persons Injured Contrary to these Instructions for all damages they shall sustaine by any Capture, Imbezelmt. Demurage or otherwise.

- 22 That before any such Lettrs. of Marque or Comissions Issue under seale, wth. Security wth. Sureties shall be taken by bond before the Leiutenant & Judge of Our High Court of Admiralty of England or his Surrogate in the sume of three thousand pounds sterling if the ship Carrys above one hundred & fifty men, & if a lesser number, then in the sume of Fifteen hundred pounds sterling; the Condition of which obligation shall be to the effect & in forme following

The Condition of this Obligation is such, that whereas Capt. Hen. Baley is Authorized by Letters of Marque, or a Comission for a Private Man of War to Arm, Equip, & set forth to sea the ship called the *Dering* Frigtt. of the Burden of about two hundred & seaventy Tuns, whereof he the sd. Hen. Baley, goeth Captain, wth. Men Ordnance, Amunition & Victuals, to set upon by force of armes, & to subdue, seize & take the Men of Warr, ships or other Vessells whatsoever, togeather with the Goods, Moneys & Merchandizes belonging to the French king, or to any of his Subjects or Inhabitants wthin any of his Territorys or Dominions whatsoever, excepting onely wthin the Harbours or Roads within shott of the Cannon of Princes & States in Amity with theire Majties. And whereas he the sd. Hen. Baley haith a Coppey of Certaine Instructions approved of, & passed by her Majtie. in Councill, (the originall whereof is under her Majties. Sign Manuell and Royall Signett) Deld. to him to govern himselfe therein, as by the Tenor of the sd. Comission, & of the Instructions thereunto relateing more at large appeareth. If therefore nothing be done by the sd. Capt. Hen. Baley or any of his Officers, Mariners or Company, Contrary to the true meaning of the sd. Instructions, but that the Comission aforesaid, &

the sd. Instructions, shall in all Peticulars be well And duly perform'd & observed as far as they shall the sd. Ship, or Captaine & Company any way Concern And if they, or any of them, shall give full satisfaction for any damage or Injury which shall be done by them, or any of them, to any of their Majties. Subjects or Allies, or Neuters or their Subjects; And also if the said Capt. Hen. Baley & his Officers & Mariners, shall duly & Truly pay, or Cause to be paid their Majties. or the Customers or Officers appointed to receive the same for their Majties. the Usual Customes due to their Majesties of & for all Ships & Goods soe as aforesd. taken & adjudged for Prize, that then the above written Obligation to be void & of none Effect, or else to remaine in full force & Vertue.

Coppy of a Letter of Mart to Capt. Henry Bayley

William the third by the grace of God, of England Scotland France & Ireland King Defender of the faith &ca.

Whereas wee haveing taken into our Considerations the Injuries Spoiles & acts of Hostility Comitted by the French King & his Subjects unto & upon the ships goods & persons of our Subjects extending to their Greivous damages & amounting to great Sumes; And that notwithstanding the many & frequent demands made for redress and reparation yet none could ever be obtained, Wee did therefore wth. the advice of our Privy Councell thinke fitt & ordered that Generall Reprizals be granted agst. the Ships goods & Subjects of the French king, Soe that as well our Fleets & ships as also all other Ships & vessells that shall be Comissionated by Letters of Marque or Generall Reprizall or otherwise shall & may lawfully seize & take all ships vessells & goods belonging to the French King or his Subjects or inhabitants within any the Territories of the French King & such other Ships Vessells & goods as are or shall be liable to Confiscation

& bring the same to Judgment in our high Court of Admiralty of England, or such other Court of Admiralty as shall be lawfully authorized in that behalfe according to the usuall course & Lawes of Nations.

And Whereas Henry Baley is thought fittly qualified & hath Equipped furnished & Victualled a ship called the *Dering* Frigtt. of the burthen of about two hundred & Seaventy Tuns whereof the sd. Henry Baley is Comander, And whereas he the sd. Henry Baley hath given Securety wth. suretyes by bond to Us in our said high Court of Admiralty according to the Effect & forme sett downe in certaine Instructions made the 2d day of May one thousand, sixhundred, ninety, three & in the fifth yeare of our Reigne a Copy whereof is given to the sd. Capt. Henry Baley.

Know ye therefore that wee by these presents grant Comission to & doe Licence & Authorize the sd. Hen. Baley to sett forth in warlike manner the sd. ship called the *Dering* Frigtt. under his owne Comand & therewith by Force of Armes to Apprehend Seize & take the Ships vessells & goods belonging to the French King & his Subjects or Inhabitants within the dominions of the sd. French King & such other ships vessells & goods as are or shall be Liable to Confiscation, & to bring the same to such port as shall be most Convenient in order to have them Legally Adjudged in our high Court of Admiralty or such other Court of Admiralty as shall be lawfully authorized in that behalfe which being condemned it shall & may be Lawfull for the sd. Henry Baley to sell & dispose of such ships Vessells & goods soe adjudged & Condemned in such sort & manner as by the Course of Admiralty hath been accustomed (except in such cases where it is otherwise directed by the sd. Instructions & the Act of Parliament thereunto annexed) Provided alwise that the sd. Henry Baley keepe an exact Journall of his proceedings & therein perticularly take notice of all prizes which shall be taken by him, the Nature of such prizes the times & places of their being Taken, & the values of them as near as he can Judge, as alsoe of the station motion & strength of the Enemy as well as he or his Mariners can discovr. by the best Intelligence he can gitt, & alsoe of

whatsoever else shall occur unto unto him or any of his Officers or Mariners or be discovered or declared unto him or them or found out by any examination or Conference with any Mariners or Passengers of or in any the ships or vessells taken or by any other person or persons or by any other wayes or means whatsoever touchin or Concerning the designes of the Enemy, or any of their Fleets Vessells or partys & of their Stations ports & places, & of their Intents therein & of what Merchant ships or Vessells of the Enemys bound out or home or to any other place as he or his Officers or Mariners shall heare of & of what else materiall in these Cases may arrive to his or their knowledg, of all which he shall from time to time as he shall or may have oppertunity transmitt an account to Our Comissioners for Executeing the Office of Lord high Admirall of England, or their Secretarys & to keepe a Correspondence with them by all oppertunitys that shall present And further provided that nothing be done by the sd. Henry Baley or any of his Officers Mariners or Contrary to the true meaning of our aforesd. Instructions, but that the sd. Instructions shall be by them & each & Every of them as far as they or any of them are therein Concern'd in all perticulars well & duely performed & observed; And Wee pray & desire all Kings Princes & Potentates Estates & Republicks being our Freinds & Allies & all others to whome it shall appertaine to give the sd. Henry Baley all ayd assistance & succour in their Ports wth. his sd. ship Compa. & Prizes without doing or suffering to be done to him any wrong trouble or hindrance, Wee Offering to doe the like when Wee shall be by them thereunto desired And wee will & require all our owne Officers whatsoever to give him Succour & assistance as occasion shall require this Our Comission to Continue in force dureing one Voyage to Hudsons Bay & back againe to England & noe longer, In Witness whereof wee have caused the Greate Seale of Our Admiralty of England to be hereunto Affixed, Given at London the six and twentieth day of May, in the yeare of Our Lord One thousand, Six hundred, Ninety, six and in the Eighth yeare of Our Raigne

ORLANDO GEE Regr.

The Like Instructions & Comissions for Capt. Michael Grimington in the *Hudsons Bay* Friggtt.

The Like Instructions & Comission for Capt. Nico. Smithsend¹ in the *Knight*² Friggtt.

the Generall Lettr. to Govr. Knight & the rest of his Councell
at Albany Fort

By the happy arriveall of the *Dering*, *Hudsons Bay*, and *Prosperous*,³ in the Downes the 23d Octobr. 1694, wee recd. the welcome Newse of your good health & those with you (which pray God Continue) soone after wee recd. your Letters of the 29th Augst. & 8th September 1694, the former Relateing onely to the Mismanagemt. of Sinclare & your displacing him from being your Deputy,⁴ wee shall not need

¹ Nicholas Smithsend of the parish of St. John's, Wapping, was a brother of Richard Smithsend (see p. 83, n. 1). Nicholas was a member of the crew of the chartered ship *Perpetuana Merchant* when she was captured by the French in Hudson Strait in July 1685 and references to this affair and to his imprisonment will be found in *H.B.S.*, XI, 214-15, and Tyrrell, *Docs. Rel. to the Early History of Hudson Bay*, pp. 15-17. Smithsend's services appear to have been retained by the Company during 1694 (A.1/16, fos. 11d., 30d.), and in June 1695 he succeeded Captain Cotesworth in command of the *Prosperous*. This vessel was wrecked later in the year (see n. 3 below). In 1696 Smithsend commanded the *Knight* frigate on the outward voyage to York Fort, and on the return voyage, after that place had been re-captured from the French, he commanded the *Royal Hudson's Bay*.

² See p. 273. This vessel of about 47 $\frac{6}{10}$ tons was built by James Taylor (A.1/18, fos. 12^a., 20d.). Her measurements were:

length by keel	38 feet
breadth	15 feet 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches
depth	6 feet 2 inches.

³ Charles Cotesworth (see p. 137, n. 1) commanded the *Prosperous* from the Bottom of the Bay to England in 1694. Nicholas Smithsend took command of her in June 1695 and shortly afterwards made a voyage to Newcastle. The vessel was wrecked before September 27, 1695, apparently when on her return to London (A.1/17, fos. 13d.; 15; 16d.).

⁴ Sinclair was sent home in 1694 and he received wages up to October 24 of that year (A.15/4, fo. 90). He offered his services to the Committee in the following year (A.1/17, fo. 9d.), but he was not re-engaged.

to Enlarge upon but onely in generall wee Verry well Approve of what you have done in that Affaire & all others Relateing to our service, and doubt not but Mr. Fullertine will deserve the favour you have bestowed upon him.

- 1 Wee come now to answer your letter of the 8th Sept. wherein wee find you begin wth. the Complaint of the badness of guns & in perticular Lawes & Austins,¹ the former has made none this yeare & the latter but few, & although wee have taken all the Care Imaginable in following yr. directions Concerning them; yet however wee desire you still to Continue yr. Remarkes of these sent you now; that wee may not hereafter Employ those whose guns shall not answer our Expectation.
- 2 Amongst the rest of the guns now sent, there are 20 which you perticularly wrote for by your Indent Curiously sett of, with Extrordinary Lockes &ca., wee doubt not But that they will bee to Content, that you may advance 3 or 4 skins in the price as you mention.
- 3 As to the Standard of Trade, its trew wee should have been glad ours, or yr. arguments could have prevailed with the Indians to have given us more for our goods Considering, wee pay double for some Comodities more then formerly, yet however yr. reasons are suficient & wee doe Intirely Confide in yr. prudence and leave it to you to manage that Affaire, as much to our advantage, with respect to yr. neare Competrs. in Trade as your discretion shall thinke fitt.
- 4 And the more since wee have had the Misfortune to loose Yorke fort, which was basely surrendred to the French the 4th October 1694,² as noe doubt some

¹ A.1/18, fo. 3d., at a Committee, December 13, 1695, "... The Comittee agreed to give them [the Gunsmiths] 26s. pr. gun & they to make them as good or Better then formerly & Mr. Powell the Profe Master was ordered to take care in the proveing them according to his oath". Out of 500 guns and 12 pairs of pistols then ordered Captain Thomas Austin made only 40 guns.

² There is no account of this affair in the Company's archives; only scattered references to it are to be found. Henry Kelsey's "Journal of our wintering by gods assistance at hayes River in ye year of our Lord 1694" (Doughty and Martin, *Kelsey Papers*, pp. 39-45, and reprinted in Tyrrell, *Docs. Rel. to the Early History*

Indians may have Informed you ere this comes to your hand, & It being a Melancholly relation shall not trouble you with the perticulars but leave you to be Inform'd by those that come to you, some of which was taken at that place.

- 5 And notwithstanding the French are settled there wee hope that some of the trade of that place will fall into your hands by your Incourageing the Northern Indians to come to your Factory, & the more because of the alliances you have made wth. the Leading Indians wch. wee well approve of, & desire you still to Cultivate by kindness shewne them in presents, which wee thinke a more proper method then by abatement in the Standard, but as wee said before, wee Leave those things Intirely to your discretion.
- 6 Wee perceive your Care in provideing fodder for Cattle & were in hopes there might a been a peace in Europe before this, but seeing the warr is as hott or hotter then ever,¹ wee decline sending any for that reason & shall waite a fitter oportunity.
- 7 Your husbandry in gardning is verry satisfactory to us & desire you still to make what Improvement you can, which will not onely helpe to save provisions but is alsoe healthfull to those that Inhabitt wth. you.

of *Hudson Bay*, pp. 22-4) begins on August 13 and ends on October 4, the day on which he and Thomas Mathew "went wth a flag of truce & carryed . . . articles" (see p. 300) to the French. For a French account see Tyrrell, *Docs. Rel. to the Early History of Hudson Bay*, pp. 110-22, "Letter from Father Marest . . . 1694". According to Father Marest who accompanied the French expedition as missionary, the two warships *Poli* and *Salamandre* arrived in Bourbon (Nelson) River on September 24/14. On October 14/4 the French commander, d'Iberville, obtained the surrender of York Fort and made prisoners of the garrison of fifty-three, "all fairly lusty, able men". York Fort (on Hayes River) was re-named Fort Bourbon; Hayes River became Ste. Thérèse River; and Nelson River became Bourbon River. The *Poli* and the *Salamandre* sailed for France during the summer of 1695, carrying the surviving English prisoners, one of whom was Henry Kelsey (see p. 282, n. 1). See also Crouse, *Lemoyne d'Iberville*, pp. 91n, 94-103.

¹ The Treaty of Ryswick signed in September 1697 ended the war which had begun in 1689.

- 8 Wee have sent you the seeds you desire as you will find by the Invoice¹ as alsoe seed wheate & although you mention that neither that nor hemp seed will thrive wth. you (but flax & barley, verry good) wee apprehend that after 2 or 3 Crops of Barley, if you sowe hemp or wheate upon the same land, it may be much better then you expect the cause of the hemp growing soe gouty ariseing from the richness of the Soyle.
- 9 Wee desire you to goe on to Sowe Flax & send us what you can raise & keepe a stock of seed.
- 10 *Castorium & feathers are Comodities, that deserve your greatest care in procureing, therefore wee Recomend to you the sending what you can, as alsoe Munke Rubarb & if any other drugg's comes to your hands send us alsoe Samples thereof.*
- 11 *Issinglass is a thing much more in request then formerly a sample whereof wee have had some years in the House and find it Extrordinary good, & doubt not but you may gett vast quantities of it, onely wee must desire you to gett it in as large peices as posible you can.*
- 12 And although wee doe often recomend to you the Improveing of some sorts of Comodities, as well as the new discovery of others, yet wee are still well Satisfied of your Industry therein & hope you will in the end find the good fruite of your Labour.
- 13 Wee thanke you for the Mineralls you sent us, some of which wee have cause to beleive were verry valluable, because wee could have noe account of them from those who undertooke to make tryall of them, therefore wee *desire you to Continue sending us more samples of all sorts that may be gotten & endeavour to take them as deepe as posible out of the earth or mine.*

¹ Copies of the invoices of goods sent to Albany Fort in 1696 in *Dering* [III] and the *Royal Hudson's Bay* are in A.24/1, fos. 112d.-117. Fo. 113d. lists "one pound of Lettice, one pound of Turnep & one pound of radish seeds"; fo. 114d., "a Small bagg Conta. $\frac{1}{2}$ bushell of rape Seed"; and fo. 115 "one Small Caske conta. pease one Ditto Conta. Beans for seed". No other seeds are mentioned.

14 And as wee are well satisfied of your Industry soe wee
are alsoe of yr. Integrity hoping you will not thinke wee
can listen to the Impertinences of mercenary men how
Specious soever their pretences may bee.

15 Wee are glad you approve of those servants wee sent
you last yeare¹ & have parted with the seamen & lessend
their wages & hope you will be Reinforced wth. more
that may bee serviceable to us, to which end wee have at
greate charges endeavored to furnish you not onely with
able hands but likewise wth. all sorts of Commodities
whatsoever wch. you wrote for, & more in quantity
(wadmill mittens & Beads Excepted) which are not to
be Purchased at this time.

16 Wee shall not need to Enlarge upon what you write
Concerning the smallness of your Trade for want of
goods by which means some of the Indians Trade with
the French, It being naturall for all men soe to doe, but
hope they have had noe such occasion of late.

17 As for sending home Sinclare & placing Mr.
Fullertine in his room, soe much has been sd. already in
the generall as to your Conduct that wee shall not need
to Repeat it, wee haveing approved of all things you have
thought fitt to doe in the Management of our affaires.

18 You give us a reason for not sending a Signall therefore
have forbore doing it, leaving all things to your prudence,
both as to the safety of your Factory and our Intrest.

19 Wee have sent a quantity of Cheese wch. you may
dispose of as you see Convenient.

20 The wine wee send for your owne use in the first place
& to dispose what part of it you thinke Convenient for
our accompt.

21 Wee have sent you a Sloop or small Frigtt. but have
thought fitt to exceed the dimensions you wrote for in
prospect she may bee of some defence upon occasion
which in respect to you wee call the *Knight* Frigtt.

22 Wee referr it to you to send home the *Perry* Frigtt. or
detaine her another yeare as you see occasion.

¹ In 1694. See p. 230.

- 23 Mr. Peters hath given directions to our Taylors in the Cutting of the Coates & hope you will find them to answer your expectation.
- 24 Wee have given orders to the Captaines of our ships to carry noe brandy to be sold in our Factory & to lett you have all sorts of Liquors & provisions you shall desire & they can posibly Spare.
- 25 Wee desire you to remember your promise in sending us a list of all bills drawne on the Compa. by our servts. & suffer none to over draw upon us.
- 26 Pray Continue to send back what Caske & gun chests & Iron hoopes you have as alsoe all the sawed deale you can Spare except you have other things of greater value to fill up the Ship.
- 27 Send home likewise what powder guns or other Comodities that are defective & will not sell or be any waies usefull to you, with the Copper kettles & the Baggs the shott are put in.
- 28 Give alsoe directions to the men when any Caske are opened at the Factory not to breake the heads & staves but as they are Emptied lay them carefully up to be sent home.
- 29 *Informe yrselve if there be any Copper Mines on the East Maine & send home a sample of the oare.*
- 30 Wee have delivered to Kelsey one gun made by Capt. Silke 4 foote long which he is to use in the voyage & is to deliver into the Factory at his arriveall.
- 31 Permitt John Todd¹ if he desires it to come for England his Mother alleadging he hath a right to an Estate wch. is in Controvercey, his father being dead.
- 32 Wee send noe men to mannage the flax because wee find it requires such as are Intelligent in the dressin it there, therefore wee desire none may be sowne untill further order, & for that reason doe revoke the 9th Paragraph.
- 33 Upon the arriveall of the *Knight* Frigtt. Capt.

¹ John Todd remained at Albany until 1697, when he returned to England. He received wages from September 1692 until August 1697 (A.15/5, fo. 12).

Smithsend Comandr. by whome you will be informed how our affaires stand at Yorke Fort, from wch. advice if you find wee have the sd. Fort againe in our posession then you may keepe the *Knight* Frigtt. with you & send Capt. Smithsend in the *Perry* Frigtt. at a seasonable time back to Yorke Fort with such trading goods as you can spare and such other goods as you thinke will sell there for the better carrying on our trade at that place with orders to remayne there untill the arriveall of our ships next yeare from England, But if you aprehend any danger from the Enemy by Sea or Land then you may keepe both the *Knight* & the *Perry* Frigtt. for your better Security untill the arriveall of our Ships, which wee will Endeavour shall be wth. you verry Early the next yeare.

34 Pray be carefull to send us a true & exact accompt of the severall Species of goods stores & provisions remaining in the Factory & the quantity & quallity thereof.

It may be reasonable for us to let you know the Cause why wee sent noe ships the last yeare, our warehouses were full of goods, & the marketts in London soe dull wee could sell none & the Committee were of opinion you wanted nothing, & thats the reason wee kept our ships at home the last yeare, which proves verry happy for had they gone to port Nelson in all probabillity wee should have lost them both, there being 2 french men of Warr there at that time.

Wee Recomend you to the Divine Protection & Remaine

Your Loveing Freinds ¹

SAMLL. CLARKE Dept. Governr.

JOHN PERRY

THOMAS PITTS

JOHN NICHOLSON

Gravesend the 30 May 1696

¹ For the names of the men elected in November 1695 to serve for one year as Governor, Deputy Governor, and on the Committee, see Appendix A, p. 312.

Perticular Letter to
Governr. Knight

After our greate fatigue in procureing & dispatching this Expedition our maine hopes of reaping hereafter the fruite of our labour will arise from the Continuance of your Government at Albany Fort & therefore wee address this to your selfe as our important desires that you will not leave us this yeare assuring you now under our hands it shall be the last request of this Nature, that wee will make to you.

Wee cannot Beleive the French would have attempted Yorke Fort had wee bin soe happy to have had you there to defend it, & for that reason wee aprehend Albany Fort secure soe long as you remaine in it. And that you may not bee discouraged in thinking the argumt. will be the same next year wee doe assure you the Enemy is soe weary of the warr that there are now 2 greate Ministers of State arrived in Flanders from the French king to seeke conditions of Peace offering much better tearmes then formerly soe that wee have good reason to hope this will be the last Campaigne which God grant.

Our most Heroick king William haveing such a fleete of Ships in conjunction with the Confederates at Sea which makes the French Sculke in theire harbours And such a formidable army by Land that by the blessing of God wee hope the warr will come to an end this winter.

Wee know you will leave such an example of your Ingenuity & Industry not onely in carrying on our trade to the best advantage, Butt of yr. incomparable good mannagemt. of the affaires of the factory in yr. gardens and other Improvemts. in corne herbs rootes & plants whereby much of the expence of provisions from England are not only lesser but the men thereby kept in bettr. health, and that you will bring all things to such perfection in one yeare more that it will be Inexcusable in yr. successor whoever he shall be not to Continue to that our advantage that admirable method you have brought & wee hope will leave our factory in.

Wee heartily thanke you for the Improvemt. you have made in our trade which wee know would have been greate

MAY 30, 1696

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had you bin better Supplied when you went to recover that place.

But you know wee could not then be soe well provided wth. tradeing goods as wee hope you have found the Cargoe wee sent you in 94 And if what wee intend you this yeare come to your Fort which God send in safety you will find how ready wee are to furnish all things necessary for the Carrying on of our trade there.

The reason your Beavor was not sold sooner was for the expectation of the advance in price which you will find by the Inclosed account, the neet produce of your percell amounting to as pr. the Copy of the bond Inclosed, wee have made up one hundred pounds & sealed which wee have lodged in the hands of our Dept. Governr. Mr. Samll. Clarke for your use & at your disposall, this wee intend to let you see wee are not unmindfull of yr. good service but that you may depend upon us for such rewards as you, your selfe can reasonably expect here after for the good services you have done & shall doe for Us.

This Small gratuity was not invested in plate & presented to your son, wee Considering the Intrest of the bond will be more for his Service.¹

If you have any private Affaires of your owne in wch. all or any of us can be serviceable you may be assured wee will act therein with the same integrety as for our selves being Sr.

Your very harty good freinds & Servants
SAML. CLARKE Dept. Governr.
JOHN PERRY
THOMAS PITTS
JOHN NICHOLSON

Gravesend the 30th May 1696

Mr. Jno. Fullertine²

Sr. this is answer to yours of the 8th Septembr. 94 & wee well approve of Governr. Knights choice in making you his

¹ See p. 241.

² See p. 258.

Dept. a person of whome wee have had experience of your fidelity & Industry in our service, & doubt not but your Continuance therein will impove that good opinion wee have of you to your advantage, wee wanting noe good inclinations to Encourage those servants who wee find faithfull to our Intrest; wee are well satisfied with your Conduct at Gilpin Island & wish you had had goods to have answered the trade that offered there, as alsoe for your endeavour of keeping a good Correspondence with those Indians Wee desire you to make what *other discovery's you can in any other Comodities besides Beavr. as well minerals as others* which in some respect may be discovered by yr. observance of the sands of the Rivers in the summer season or Mountanous land.

As to the 15 Beavor skins you mention'd to have traded for your owne goods its quite Contrary to the Companies Custome & standing orders, which can in noe wise be dispenced wth. in any person whatever, however you shall be noe Sufferer at last by the Confidence you put in us by delivering those traded goods into the warehouse & seing you find you are denied to trade, wee expect you doe the same to all others that are or may be at any time under your Regulation.

wee are your Loveing Freinds
 SAML. CLARKE Dept Govr
 JOHN PERRY
 THOMAS PITTS
 JNO. NICHOLSON

Gravesend the 30th May 1696

Saileing Orders or Instructions to

Capt. Henry Baley

1st You are to saile in Compa. wth. his Maties. Ships¹

¹ See Introduction, pp. xix, xxvi. A petition praying for "assistance for the Recovery" from the French of the Company's "Cheifest" factory in Hudson Bay, "Called Yorke Fort", was presented to the King on February 20, 1696. The Company's requirements were submitted on April 24, 1696 (A.9/4, fos. 23d.-24).

the *Bonadventure*¹ and *Seaforth*² Together with our Ships the *Hudsons Bay* Frigtt. and *Knight* Frigtt. the first oportunity of wind & weather Either through the Chanell or north about as you shall receive orders from the Comadore, to Hayes River in Hudsons Bay to which place you are first bound.

2d Upon your arriveall there you are to give the Best Advice and assistance to the Comadore for attacking & Retakeing Yorke Fort from the French, you being well acquainted wth. the Nature of the Ground & situacion of the Fort, are best able to advise the most proper Method for the Reduction thereof.

3d And in Case you meete wth. any of the Enemies Ships in the Rivers or Bay or Elce where you are to use your utmost Endeavour to take sinke or destroy them according to such directions as the Comander in Cheife shall give you, pursuant to the Instructions he hath from their Excellencies the Lords Justices of England.

4th When you are in Possesion of Yorke Fort you being Apointed the Governr. thereof, Are to take the same into your Charge & Cause a True & Exact Inventory to be taken of all Guns & other Implemts. of Warr, all Stores goods & Merchandizes & all other things whatsoever, that shall be found in or about the said Fort & send a True duplicate thereof at the Returne of the Ships, to the Hudsons Bay Compa.

5th In case you Loose Company in yr. outward Bound passage, you are to make the best of your way for Hayes River or as neare there unto as you shall thinke most Convenient, & there Joyne the rest of your Compa. or

¹ Anderson, "English Ships, 1649-1702", p. 54, gives the *Bonaventure* as a fourth-rate of forty-eight guns, rebuilt at Woolwich in 1699. Her measurements were: length of gun-deck, 125-5; beam 33-1½; tons 597. (The methods of calculation at different periods are given in explanatory notes). The *Bonaventure* was again rebuilt in 1711.

² Ibid., p. 50, lists the *Seaford* as a sixth-rate of twenty-four guns built at Bursledon in 1695. Her measurements were: length of gun-deck, 98-5; beam 26-1; tons 294. She was captured by the French in 1697.

Remaine there a Convenient time Expecting they shall Joyne you.

6th When you are in the Quiett possession of Yorke Fort you are by virtue of this Article in our Instrucions to Apoint Capt. Grimington to take the Comand of our Ship the *Dering* Frigtt. And whome Capt. Baley shall thinke fitt to take the Comand of our Ship the *Hudsons Bay* Frigtt.

7th Wee doe above all things Enjoyne you that the publick service of Almighty God be duly performed both on board your Ship as alsoe in the Fort.

8th If in your outward bound passage or Elcewhere you meete with any Ship or Ships within Hudsons Bay or Streights whether sailed by his Maties. Subjects or Strangers, not being in the Compies. Employ, wee doe by virtue of our Charter Confirmed by Act of Parliament hereby require & authorize you to seeze such Ships with all Goods & stores on board them as Lawfull prize & send them without Imbezelment for England, in order to be proceeded against according to Law.

9th You haveing above six monthes provision of all sorts on board our Ship the *Dering* Frigtt. wee doe Expect you will be soe good a Husband for us, that you may be able to suply your selfe wth. some part of it a Shoare, Leaveing soe much & noe more on board her as may be Necessary for the homeward bound passage, & send us a perticular, of wt. provisions or stores you take out of the said Ship.

10th Wee also Expect that all passengers on board your Ship have the same allowance of provisions & other accomodations as your Ships Company shall have, & that they therefore take theire Watch as the seamen doe.

11th You are also hereby Impow'ed to take 25 not Exceeding 30 such men as you Judg will be most agreable & serviceable to you in Keeping the possession of the Fort, & Carring on the Trade untill, wee shall by Gods Blessing, send you a farther Suply next yeare, In

this Choice wee Recomend to you all those men that came lately from thence, & such others of the passengers as you shall thinke fitt, & soe many seamen out of all the 3 Ships as will make up the Complement aforesaid.

12th If it Please God you are in Posesion of Yorke Fort on or before the 20th of Augst. you are farther required to dispatch Captaine Grimington in the *Dering* Frigtt. & Capt. Smithsend in the *Knight* Frigtt. downe to the bottome of the Bay with such goods & stores as are Conta. in the Invoice & wee question not their returne back to you by the 20th of Septembr. But

13th If you are not Master of the Fort before the 31st of August in that Case you are onely to send a Way Capt. Smithsend in the *Knight* Frigtt. with 10000 wt. of Flower 2 barrells of Fruite 6 Firkins of Butter 1 Caske of Chese 10 Quarters of Mault 1 barrell of suett 50 bushells of pease 1 Caske of white biskett 25 bushels of oatemeale 2 Chests of Bacon 1 Hogshd. of Sherry wine 1 Hamper of white port 1 Box of sugar 2 Quarter Caske of Brandy 1 bottle of Florence oyle & 2 bottles of other oyle 10 Barrells of fine powder 5 Ton of Shott 10 Chests of Guns 2 Bailes of Cloth viz. No. 43 & 44 Two bailes of Blankets No. 46 & 47 1 Chest of Coates No. (28) 1 Chest of Shirts No. (29) 1 box of Tobaccopipes No. (31) 1 Caske of shoes No. (35) 1 Caske of Flints 2 barrells of Hatchets No. 1. 2. Two barrells ditto No. 9. 10. Two ditto No. 15 16. & 1 Barrell Knives No. (3) one box Candles No. (1) Togeather wth. 20 dayes provision for the said *Knight* Frigtt. owne provision.

14th In Case there should not be Roome in the small vessell for all the Goods aBove mentioned, Let the guns be left unsent.

15th You are by all methods to Endeavour to please the Capts. of the men of Warr by avoiding any discourses that may any way tend to Make any differences & as frequently as you find ocasion to discourse the

Feascableness of takeing Yorke Fort with the forces with you, & give them to understand how Genorous the Compa. have been to all persons that have Expos'd themselves in other Cases of the Like Nature.

16th That when ever the men of Warr their boates come on board you be verry kind to them by giveing them a bottle of Brandy & other provisions as you see needfull according to the time they may be on board you, still Encourageing them to Shew themselves forward when they come to Action.

17th The 18 Caske of Brandy marked M are to be disposed of to the Capts. of the men of Warr for their Men as you thinke fitt at severall times after you have been out of England a Month or 6 Weekes not Letting the Kings Capts. know what Brandy you have on board, but as ocasion require tell them you will spare them what you can to preserve their men.

18th And when they are neare the Time of their comeing a way you are to deliver what Brandy you have left of the 18 Caske to the Kings Capts. for their men homeward bound, Each Capt. according to the Number of men they have on board.

19th Wee would have you to be verry Kind to the Fire Master Bombarders & guners in giveing them some brandy or any thing Elce you can oblige them with, & when you come to play your Bombes you may tell the Fier Master that you will give him 5 guynes the first shell he places in the Fort.

20th When you Land your men wee are of opinion Kelseys¹ advice in that perticular may be verry proper he knowing the ground verry well all about the Fort, as also such other men with you that are acquainted with

¹ Henry Kelsey had been made a prisoner when York Fort was taken by the French on October 4, 1694 (see p. 270, n. 2). He was one of the "scarce 25" out of "53 persons" who survived the harsh treatment meted out by the French during 1694-95 (A.9/4, fo. 32d.), and returned to England via France either at the end of 1695 or early in 1696. For his "Memmorandum in ye hudsons bay frigatt", June 2-July 19, 1696, see Doughty and Martin, pp. 33-9.

the Country to be branched in the severall divisions you shall thinke fitt to Land.

21st If you send the *Dering* Frigtt. to the Bottome of the Bay, then you are to put all goods you find in Yorke Fort proper for England on board the *Hudsons Bay* Frigtt.

22^d You are Likewise upon your arrivall in England to deliver in your Journall of your voyage & all things Relateing thereto.

23^d If you are forced into any port homeward bound in England Scotland or Ireland or upon your arriveall in the Downes send us a Letter pr. the post with advice & a short accompt of your Cargoe & the sucess of your voyage.

24th Capt. Baley if at any time in your Voyage, Capt. Allen¹ the Comadore find or thinke it Necessary to make the *Knight* Frigtt. Nicholas Smithsend Comander a Fire Ship to Burne any of the Enemys Ships you are to give your Consent & utmost Assistance for doing & performing the same.

25th Furthermore if it shall please God wee become Masters of Yorke Fort, in Case of Capt. Hen. Baley's Death wee doe apoint Captain Nicholas Smithsend Governr. thereof & in case of his Death then Mr. Henry Kelsey to be our Governr.

Wee are Your Loveing Freinds
SAML. CLARKE Dept. Govr.
THOMAS PITTS
JOHN NICHOLSON
JOHN BROMWELL²

¹ Captain William Allen "died in the bed of Honour" on the homeward voyage in 1696. He was killed when his ship encountered a French privateer about thirty leagues off the Scilly Islands. His son was also aboard the *Bonaventure* during the 1696 voyage (A.6/3, fo. 7 et seq.).

² Captain John Bromwell of Poplar, mariner, acquired Hudson's Bay Company stock in May 1695 and in the following November was elected to the Committee. He was re-elected in November of the following ten years. The last meeting he apparently attended was on March 19, 1706, and his death occurred before September 24, 1707.

JOHN SWEETAPLE
ROBT. NICHOLAS

Hudsons Bay House¹ London
the 5th June 1696

P.S.

the 15 Caske of Porke that was designed for Albany Fort you are to take a shoare when you are Governor of Yorke Fort, & likewise all Beefe & other provisions that your Ship can Spare you wch. wee hope will be provision Enough till wee Can Supply you from hence giving a Receipt for wt. you receive from Each Ship.

Saileing Orders & Instructions to Capt. Michll. Grimington.

- 1st You are to Saile in Compa. wth. his Maties. Ships the *Bonadventure* and *Seaford* together wth. our Ships the *Dering* Frigtt. & *Knight* Frigtt. the first opertunity of wind & weather either through the Channell or North about as you shall receive orders from the Comadore to Hayes River in Hudsons Bay to wch. place you are first bound.
- 2 Upon your arriveall there you are to give your best Advice & assistance to the Comadore for attacking & Retakeing Yorke Fort from the French, you being well acquainted wth. the Nature of the Ground & Sittuation of the Fort are best able to advice the most proper Method for the Reduceing thereof.
- 3 And in case you meete wth. any of the Enemies Ships

¹ The lease of Scriveners' Hall came to an end in 1696. From midsummer 1695 the lease of a house in Fenchurch Street was taken to run originally for about thirty-five years. Repairs and building were undertaken and on March 18, 1696, the secretary and warehousekeeper were "ordered to take the first opertunity of Removeing the goods into the new house" (A.1/18, fo. 9d.). The site was at the upper end of Culver Court, which was on the north side of Fenchurch Street to the west of the present Billiter Street. Hudson's Bay House remained here until the final expiry of the lease at Michaelmas 1794 and a removal was made to Nos. 3 and 4 at the south-west end of Fenchurch Street.

in the Rivers or Bay or Else where you are to use your utmost Endeavour to take Sinke or destroy them according to such directions as the Comadore in Cheife shall give you pursuant to the Instructions he hath from their Excellencies the Lds. Justices of England.

4 In case you loose Compa. in your outward bound Passage you are to make the Best of your way for Hay's River or neare there unto as you shall thinke Convenient & there Joyne the Rest of your Compa. or Remain there a Convenient tyme Expecting they shall Joyne you.

5 Wee doe above all things Enjoyne you that the Publick service of Almighty God be duely performed on Board your Ship.

6 If in your outward bound passage or Else where you meete wth. any Ship or Ships wthin Hudsons Bay or Streights whether sailed by his Maties. Subjects or Strangers not being in the Compas. Employ wee doe by virtue of our Charter Confirmed by act of Parliament hereby require & Authorize you to seize such Ships wth. all goods & Stores aboard them as Lawfull prize & send them without Imbezilement for England in order to be proceeded against according to Law.

7 When you are Masters of Yorke Fort wee have appoined Capt. Baley Govr. thereof & you to be Comandr. of the *Dering* Frigtt. & you are to follow such orders as Governr. Baley shall give you from time to time & to assist him wth. your advice & in all things Else the time you Stay at Hayes River & when you are a Comeing away you are to Spare him wt. Provisions and Stores you Can, Keeping noe more on Board then you thinke will bring you Home.

8th Wee also Expect that all Passengers aboard your Ship have the same allowance of Provision & other accomodation as your Ships Compa. shall have & that they doe take their watch as the Seamen doe.

9 That whenever the men of Warrs Boates come on Board you to bee very kind to them by giveing them a

Bottle of Brandy & other Provisions as you see needfull according to the time they may be on Board you Still Encourageing them to Shew themselves forward when they come to Action.

10 Notwithstanding the severall particulars mentioned in the 13 Parragraph in the Bills of Ladeing signed by Capt. Henry Baley he is directed to use & dispose such proportion of them or the whole as he Shall find needfull for the Compas. service rendring a distinct account of the same.

11 You are likewise upon your arriveall in England to deliver in your Journall of your Voyage & all things Relateing thereto.

12 If you are forced in to any port homeward bound in England Scotland or Ireland or upon your arriveall in the Downes send us a Lettr. pr. the Post wth. advice & a Short accompt of your Cargoe & the success of your Voyage.

13 Wee have directed Govr. Baley to send you downe to the Bottome of the Bay wth. the *Knight* Frigtt. upon your arriveall there you are to deliver such goods & Stores & packetts as you have on Board you to Govr. Knight or to the Govr. of Albany Fort for the tyme being & follow such orders as you shall receive from him.

14 Furthermore if it should Please God wee become Masters of Yorke Fort, In Case of Capt. Henry Baley's death wee doe appoint Capt. Nico. Smithsend Governor thereof & in case of his death then Mr. Henry Kelsey to be our Governor.

15 If in case of Governr. Knights Death (wch. God forbid) all Letters directed to him & Councell, are to be opened by the present Governr. in Councell & all Lettrs. directed to him in pertucular are to be Returned back to England.

Wee are Your Loveing Freinds
SAML. CLARKE Dept. Govr.
THOMAS PITTS

JUNE 5, 1696

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JOHN NICHOLSON
JOHN BROMWELL
JOHN SWEETAPLE
ROBT. NICHOLAS

Hudsons Bay House London
the 5th June 1696

- Saileing Orders & Instructions to Capt. Nico. Smithsend
- 1st You are to Saile in Compa. wth. his Maties. Ships the *Bonadventure* and *Seaford* together wth. our Ships the *Dering* & *Hudsons Bay* Frigths. the first opertunity of Wind & weather either through the Chanell or North a Bout as you shall receive orders from the Comadore to Hayes River in Hudsons Bay to which place you are first Bound.
 2. Upon your arriveall there you are to give your best advice and assistance to the Comadore for attacking Yorke Fort from the French, you being well acquainted wth. the Nature of the ground & Scittuation of the Fort are best able to advise the most proper Method for the Reduction thereof.
 3. And in case you meete wth. any of the Enemies Ships in the Rivrs. or Bay or Else where you are to use your utmost Endeavour to take Sinke or destroy them according to such directions as the Comandr. in Cheife shall give you pursuant to the Instructions he hath from their Excellencys the Lds. Justices of England.
 - 4 In case you loose Compa. in your outward bound passage you are to make the best of your way for Hayes River or neare thereunto as you shall thinke most Convenient and there Joyne the rest of your Compa. or Remaine there a Convenient time Expecting they shall Joyne you.
 5. Wee doe above all things Enjoyne you that the Publick service of Almighty God be Duely performed on Board your Ship.

6. If in your outward Bound passage or Elsewhere you meete wth. any Ship or Ships within Hudsons Bay or Streights whether Sailed by his Maties. Subjects or Strangers not being in the Compas. Employ, wee doe by virtue of our Charter Confirmed by Act of Parliamt. hereby require & Authorize you to seize such Ships wth. all goods & Stores a Board them as Lawfull prize & send them wthout Imbezilemt. for England in order to be proceeded against according to Law.
7. When you are Masters of Yorke Fort, Wee have apointed Capt. Baley Governr. thereof & you are to follow such orders as Govr. Baley shall give you from time to time & to assist him wth. your advice & in all things Else the time you Stay at Hayes River.
8. Wee alsoe Expect that all passengers aBoard your Ship have the same allowance of Provision & other accomodations as your Ships Compa. have & that they doe take their watch as the Seamen doe.
- 9th That whenever the Men of Warrs Boates come on board you to be very kind to them by giveing them a Bottle of Brandy & other Provisions as you see needfull according to the time they may be on Board you, Still encourageing them to Shew themselves forward when they come to Action.
- 10th Notwithstanding the severll. Peticulars mentioned in the 13 parragraph in the Bills of Ladeing signed by Capt. Henry Baley, he is Directed to use & dispose such proportion of them or the whole as he shall find needfull for the Compies. service Rendering a distinct accott. of the same.
- 11 You are likewise upon your arriveall in England to deliver in your Journall of your Voyage & all things Relateing thereto.
- 12 If you are forced into any port homeward bound in England Scotland or Ireland or upon your arriveall in the Downes send us a Letter pr. the post wth. advice and a short accott. of your Cargoe & the success of your Voyage.

- 13 Wee have directed Govr. Baley to send you downe to the Bottome of the Bay wth. the *Dering* Frigtt. upon your arriveall there you are to deliver such goods & Stores and Packets as you have a Board you to Govr. Knight, or to the Govr. of Albany Fort for the time being & follow such orders as you shall receive from him.
- 14 Furthermore if it shall please God wee Become Masters of Yorke Fort, In case of Capt. Henry Baleys death wee doe apoint your selfe Governr. thereof, & in case of your death then Mr. Henry Kelsey to be our Governr.
- 15 If in case of Govr. Knights death (wch. God forbid) all Letters Directed to him & Councell, are to be opened by the present Governr. in Councell, and all Letters Directed to him in Perticular to be Returned Back to England.

Wee are Your Loveing Freinds
 SAMLL. CLARKE D.G.
 THOMAS PITTS
 JOHN NICHOLSON
 JOHN BROMWELL
 JOHN SWEETAPLE
 ROBT. NICHOLAS

Hudsons Bay House London
 the 5th June 1696

Saileing Orders & Instructions given to Capt. Wm. Allen Comandr. of his Maties. Ship the *Bonadventure* for his Voyage to Hudsons Bay, June the 12th, 1696.

Upon Receipt hereof you are to Make the Best of your way for Hayes River in Hudsons bay In Compa. wth. his Maties. ship the *Seaforth* Capt. Grange¹ Comander, as alsoe the *Dering*

¹ No information on Captain Grange is to be found in the Company's archives. He presumably died on the outward voyage for, on December 1, 1697, the Committee ordered the Secretary to pay "Capt. Watkins Comander of the *Seaford* Man of Warr anno 1696 in Hudsons Bay a Gratuity of Sixty Guynes" (A.1/20, fo. 3d.).

Henry Baley Comander, the *Hudsons Bay*, Michael Grimington Comander, the *Knight*, Nicholas Smithsend Comander whome you are to permitt to weare his Maties. Flag during this Expedition.

And when it shall please God you arrive at the said River you are hereby ordered to Consult wth. the above named Comanders wt. wayes & Methods are most proper to be taken for the Retakeing Yorke Fort from the French as also all ships & Vessells that you shall find Either in the Rivers or Bay aforesaid belonging to the French King or any of his Subjects, you are to use your utmost endeavour to take Burne or destroy.

And if it shall please God you become Masters of the sd. Yorke Fort you are hereby ordered to deliver the same with all that you find therein, unto Capt. Henry Baley for the use of the Hudsons Bay Company.

If it should soe happen that the said Yorke Fort should be in your Possesion before any French Ships arrive there then you are to post your Ships in such Convenient places & Stations, that you may be able to Surprize & Become Masters of them.

But if you find noe French Ships there by the 31st day of August next then you are to permitt the *Dering* & *Knight* Frigttts. to Saile to Albany Fort at the Bottome of the Bay But you wth. the other two Ships are to Remaine upon the Cost in some Convenient Harbour or Station till the 20th day of September following.

If you shall have Retaken Yorke Fort by the 25th of August next & find the French Ships have been there & are gone to the Bottome of the Bay, then you are wth. all Expedition to saile to the Bottome of the Bay after them, with all the Ships in your Compa. & there to Endeavour your utmost to Suport the Factory at Albany Fort, & to take or destroy all the Enemies Ships you find upon the Coast, & not to Retard your Stay there after the 20th of Septembr. & then to returne for England wth. the rest of the Ships designed home.

If it shall soe happen, that it should be soe late in the yeare before Yorke Fort be reduced, & that its altogeather

Improbable for the *Dering* Frigtt. to goe to the Bottome of the Bay & returne back for England this yeare, yet then & in such Cases you are to permitt the *Knight* Frigtt. when you depart from Hayes Rivr. to saile to Albany Fort, wth. wt. Stores & provisions the sd. Compa. shall order to be put on Board her for the Releife of the said Fort.

But if you have a Quick passage for Hayes Rivr. & become Masters of Yorke Fort, & the French Ships, Early in the yeare that is to say by the 20th of August, then you are to permitt, Capt. Grimington Comander of the *Dering* Frigtt. & Capt. Smithsend Comandr. of the *Knight* Frigtt. to saile wth. all speed for the Bottome of the Bay, & to follow the orders & Instructions of the Hudsons Bay Company, & its not to be doubted but they will Returne back to Hayes River before the 20th of September.

But if the said two Ships should not Returne by that day then you are to make the best of your way for England, wth. the *Seaforth* & *Hudsons Bay* Frigtt. & when you are arrived in the Downes you are to give Notice by the first oportunity, & a Wayte further orders.

The Governr. & Compa. Adventurers of England Tradeing into Hudsons Bay To Capt. Henry Baley Greeting,

By virtue of a Power & Authority to Us given by King Charles the Second by his Letters Pattents under the great seale of England bareing date the 2d day of May in the 22d yeare of his Reigne & Confirmed by act of Parliament in the 2d yeare of his Present Maties. Reigne, Wee doe hereby Constitute & appoint you Henry Baley to be Govr. & Comander in Cheife of our Factory of Yorke Fort in Hayes Rivr. in Hudsons Bay & of all & Every our Ports Rivers Factorys Lands Territorys with their Dependencys Contained & Lyeing in the Northerly part of the Bay within the Streights commonly Called Hudsons Streights in America to use & exercise the said Government & Comand dureing our will & Pleasure & all our Commanders & servants which are or shall

be Employed by Us wth. in the Limitts aforesaid & to yeild Obedience to you, & you are to follow such orders & directions as you shall receive from Us. Given under our hands & Common seale the 5th day of June Anno Dominæ 1696 And in the Eighth yeare of the Reigne of Our Soverigne Lord William the third King of England Scotland France & Ireland Defender of the Faith &ca.

STEPH. EVANCE¹ Govr.

SAMLL. CLARKE Dept. Govr.

THOMAS PITTS

JOHN NICHOLSON

JOHN SWEETAPLE

JOHN BROMWELL

ROBT. NICHOLAS

Hudsons Bay House London
the 5th June 1696

An Instrument to Satisfie the seamen on Board the Companies Ships

For the Encouragement of such Seamen or servants as are now goeing in the service of the Rt. Honble. the Hudsons Bay Compa. Altho theire Duty obliges them to defend our Intrest as being in our pay, Yet for their further Satisfaccion

¹ Previous references to Stephen Evance will be found in *H.B.S.*, VIII and IX. Stephen Evance, Citizen and Goldsmith of London was knighted at Kensington on October 14, 1690. According to Marshall, *Le Neve's Pedigrees of the Knights*, p. 435, Evance "failed in the world & shott himself in the temple dyed unmar. being no longer able to keep shop but afterwards when his debts were cast up there remained after all his creditors were paid a good estate which came to his niece Hester wife of Sr Caesar Child baronet". Evance first acquired Hudson's Bay Company stock in February 1684 and held varying amounts until he sold out in October 1689. He was again a stockholder from April till June 1691, and for a third time acquired stock in September 1691. He then held varying amounts until his death. He was elected Governor of the Company in November of each year from 1692 to 1695; a Committee Member in each year from 1696 to 1699; and Governor again in November of each year from 1700 to 1711. The last meeting he apparently attended was that held on December 20, 1711.

MAY 30-31, 1696

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& Encouragment wee doe now Promise & declare to Every one of you, Behaveing himselfe manfully & Bravely in any Action by sea or Land in our service that shall happen to be Wounded or Killed, Wee will take Effectuall care for such Reparation, & subsistance to them or theires as shall be Equivolent to the Kings Gracious Proclamation in such Cases.

In Testimoney of which wee have hereunto sett our hands this 30th of May 1696

SAMLL. CLARKE D.G.
THOMAS PITTS
JOHN NICHOLSON
JOHN BROMWELL
JOHN SWEETAPLE
ROBT. NICHOLAS

Capt. Baley

Assoone as you are cleared at this place, you are hereby ordered to Saile downe to the Lower end of the Hope & there to lye till further orders, from your, Loveing Freinds

SAMLL. CLARKE Dept. Govr.
JOHN PERY
JOHN NICHOLSON
THOMAS PITTS

Gravesend the 31st May 1696

Capt. Grimington

Assoone as you are Cleared at this place, you are hereby ordered to saile downe to the Lower end of the Hope & there to Lye till farther orders, from your Loveing Freinds

SAMLL. CLARKE Dept. Govr.
JOHN PERRY
JOHN NICHOLSON
THOMAS PITTS

Gravesend, the 31st May 1696

Capt. Smithsend

Assoone as you are Cleared at this place, you are hereby ordered to Saile downe to the Lower End of the Hope & their to Lye till further orders, from your Loveing Freinds

SAMLL. CLARKE Dept. Govr.

JOHN PERRY

JOHN NICHOLSON

THOMAS PITTS

Gravesend, the 31st May, 1696

Capt. Baley

Upon your Receipt hereof you are to make the best of your way for Alborough Bay & there to a Bide till farther order & you are to take care of the Hoyer that is in the Kings service till you come to Albrough & dont let her goe out of your sight Pray keepe a good lookeing out that you be not Surprized by the Enemy, & order Capt. Grimington & Capt. Smithsend to keepe close by you.

Wee are Your Loveing Freinds

SAMLL. CLARKE Dept. Govr.

THOMAS PITTS

JOHN NICHOLSON

ROBT. NICHOLAS

London the 4th June, 1696

Capt. Grimington

Upon your Receipt hereof you are to accompany Capt. Baley & Capt. Smithsend for Alborough Bay & there to a bide till further order, Pray keepe a good Looke out that you be not Surprized by the Enemy, Wee are your Loveing Freinds

SAMLL. CLARKE Dept. Govr.

THOMAS PITTS

JOHN NICHOLSON

ROBT. NICHOLAS

London the 4th June 1696

JUNE 4-5, 1696

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Capt. Smithsend

Upon your Receipt hereof you are to accompany Capt. Baley & Capt. Grimington for Alborough Bay & there to abide wth. them untill further order pray keepe good looke out that you bee not Surprized by the Enemy, Wee are your Loveing Freinds

SAMLL. CLARKE Dept. Governr.

JON. NICHOLSON

THO. PITTS

ROBT. NICHOLAS

London the 4th June 1697

Capt. Baley

The Bearer hereof our very Good freind being bound wth. his Maties. Hoy for Alborough or some where to the Northward, wee desire you to take care of him & defend him from the Enemy as much as in you Lyes & not to let him goe out of your sight if Possible

SAMLL. CLARKE Dept. Govr.

JON. SWEETAPLE

JON. PERY

JON. NICHOLSON

ROBT. NICHOLAS

Hudsons Bay House

the 5th June 1696

Capt. Allen

If it be your good fortune to take Yorke Fort,¹ & you find your Men have gott any Beavr. wee desire you to Buy it of

¹ York Fort was retaken from the French and, as instructed, Henry Baley remained as Governor, Captain Grimington brought *Dering* [III] back to London, and the *Royal Hudson's Bay* was commanded by Nicholas Smithsend on the homeward voyage. H.M. Ships *Bonaventure* and *Seaford* also returned to England. Thomas Man took the *Knight* to Albany River, where she wintered 1696-97.

them as Cheape as you can, & for wt. you gett wee will at your arriveall in England give you five shillings & six pence for each pound, & for Each pound of Castorum wee will give you five shillings a pound.

Capt. Baley, you are hereby ordered to send Mr. Man¹ on Board his Maties. Ship *Bonadventr*. Capt. Wm. Allen Comander, when he shall send for him, to give his utmost Assistance in Navigateing the said Ship to Hayes River or Elce where in Hudsons Bay.

You are alsoe ordered to let the Bombardiers & Guners have some of the Cloaths that came on Board in the Chests you recd. Last on Board if they have ocasion for them, takeing their Receipts for what you deliver them, not Exceeding three pounds each man, And if the Captaines of the Men Warr want the Remainder of those Cloaths for their Men you are to deliver them takeing their Receipts for the same.

Mr. Man, You are hereby ordered to goe on Board his Maties. Ship *Bonadventure* Capt. Wm. Allen Comandr. when Capt. Baley shall give you order & there give your utmost Advice in Navigateing the said Ship to Hayes River or Elce where in Hudsons Bay.

Capt. Grimington

You are hereby ordered to send Mr. Forrest² on Board his

¹ Thomas Man, who had formerly been chief mate of the *Pery* at the Bottom of the Bay (A.15/4, fo. 88), was chief mate of *Dering* [III]. After his arrival in Hudson Bay in 1696 he was transferred to the command of the *Knight* and wintered again 1696-97 at the Bottom of the Bay (A.1/19, fo. 16; A. 15/5, fo. 19). Man commanded the *Pery* from Albany River to London in 1697 (A.1/19, fo. 41).

² George Forrest was aboard the *Seaford* when she arrived back in Plymouth in the following autumn, and the last direct reference to him states that he was bound for Spithead (A.6/3, fos. 4, 8d., 15). His death must have occurred shortly afterwards as "forty shillings . . . taken out of the poores Box" was paid to his widow as "Charrity" on February 24, 1697 (A.1/19, fo. 10).

Maties. Ship *Seaforth* Capt. Grange Comander, when he shall send for him & there to give his utmost Assistance in Navigating the said Ship to Hayes River in Hudsons Bay or Elce where in the said Streights.

Mr. Forrest

You are hereby ordered to goe on Board his Maties. Ship *Seaforth* Capt. Grange Comander, when Capt. Grimington shall give you order & their to use your utmost Assistance in Navigating the said Ship to Hayes River or Elce where in Hudsons Bay.

Wee are your Loveing Freinds
SAML. CLARKE Dept. Govr.
JON. NICHOLSON
THO. PITTS
ROBT. NICHOLAS

Alborough the 13th June 1696

The Case¹ of the Hudsons Bay Company of England in reference to the Canada Company of France.

The Hudsons Bay Company have suffered many great Injuries & Depradations from the French in their Territories & Trade in Hudsons Bay And in times of Amity & Peace betweene the Two Crownes without any just Cause or Provocation have been severall times assaulted & invaded by the French with an armed force from Canada & France have in few yeares time by the

¹ "The Case" appears to be part of an early draft of one of the "Severall papers & Affidavitts &ca." placed before the Lords Commissioners of Trade on December 21, 1696 (see Appendix C, pp. 317-27). For references to the losses sustained and the events up to the end of 1686 see *H.B.S.*, XI, 245-339.

losse of their Forts and Factories & seizures of their Shipps goods & effects sustained very greate Damadge An Account whereof is as followeth vizt.

1682	In the yeare 1682 the French of Canada invaded the Territories of the said Company at Port Nelson burn't their houses seized their Goods carryed away Mr. Bridgar the Companies Governor & 16 men Prisoners to Canada by reason of which invasion 6 more of the Companies Servants fled into the Woods & there perished their Loss upon A modest Computation was to the value of	£ 25000
1684	In the yeare 1684 The French againe attemptd Port Nelson with 2 shipps which was very destructive to the Compas. Affaires By intercepting & hindering their Trade that yeare with the Indians to their Damage	10000
1685	In July 1685 The French upon their returne to Canada took one of the Companies Shipps (at) with all her Cargo & carryed her to Canada To their Damadge at least	5000
1686	In the yeare 1686 The French of Canada destroyed three of the Companies Factoryes & 3 of their Shipps at the Bottome of the Bay After which they inhumanely turned out to Sea in A small rotten Vessell above 50 Persons then in the Compas. Service with such short allouenance That severall of them perished wth Hunger & Cold others were forc't to travell by Land to Canada where they were detained Prisoners A long time contrary to Agreement And also took from them above 50000 Beaver Skins which with the Shipps Provisions Stores & trading Goods amount to above	50000

The Hudsons Bay Company addres't themselves to the Late King James for Releife wch. he solemnly promised them And

accordingly direccions were given to Mr. Secretary Trumbull then Ambassador in France to negotiate the same Which hee did But whilst hee was negotiateing on behalfe of the Company in France and before the Compa. knew any thing of what had happened in the yeare 1686 wch. the French knew King James (Greatly fancying the Jesuites who have the sole Benefitt of this Trade & the Interst of the Canada Compa.) the 6th of November 1686 concluded A Treaty of Peace for America with Monsr. Barillon the French Ambassador then in England. And by that Treaty excludes the Hudsons Bay Company And soe put A stopp to our Ambassadors proceedings at the French Cort by which the Company never had any Releife.

1688 The Hudsons Bay Compa. in June 1688 sent out 2 shippes to the Bottome of the Bay, where being arrived they built them A house & Landed their Goods But were no sooner settled But the French notwithstanding the Treaty soe much to their Advantage by Treachery killed 2 of their men And soone after assaulted the Companies house which was defended for some time but at last surrendered upon Articles Noe sooner were the French possest of the House But they broke their Articles seized the Shippes carried severall of the Companies servants Prisoners to Canada where some to prevent starveing were forct to renounce their Religion & to take Service with the French others they putt on Board A small Vessell with such short allowance that severall dyed in their Passage And had they not by Providence made Land sooner then Ordinary They must all have pished. To the Companies Damadge of Shipp & Goods

15000

105000

The sufferings of the Company were soe very conspicuous & apparent That his Matie. thought fitt to make the Injuries done them one of the Articles & just Grounds of his Declaration of the Present Warr against the French King.

In the yeare 1694 The French attack't Yorke Fort in Hudsons Bay which was treacherously surrenderd them upon Articles the 4th of October 1694 Which were in French to the effect followeing

- 1 That the Officers in the said Fort (upon Surrender) should be Lodgd therein & the Garrison be entertained as the French.
- 2 That they should have the same allowance of Provisions that the French had.
- 3 That the Garrison should be Masters of all that belonged to them.
- 4 That noe injury should be offered to any of their Garrison.
- 5 That the next Sumer at the returne of the Shipps for France They should be carried thither from thence to be sent back into England Unlesse they thought better to have A vessell to passe directly for England.
- 6 As to the Papers & Bookes of Account The Compa. should bee Masters of them granting the reading in case it were desired.

Notwithstanding these Articles The French were soe perfidious as soone as they had got possession of the Fort, They kep't not any one of them

- 1 They imediately turned out all the English (except the Governor & one or two [illegible] & exposed them to almost intollerable hardshipps in the Woods & desarts.
- 2 They gave them not above halfe the allowance of Provisions & Liquors that the French had, by reason whereof some of them dyed for want of necessaryes.
- 3 They strip't the English of all that was Valuable Leaveing to some scarce Cloathing to cover their nakednesse.
- 4 After their arrivall in France they were straiten'd & imprisoned which occasioned severall distempers amongst them whereof many dyed there And those Surviveing were

forc't to travell by Land from Rochell to St Maloes And had no allowance from the French but were kept some time at their owne Charge before they were transported for England.

- 5 The Companies Papers & Bookes of Account are still detained from the Company, And they have not been able to procure them Which hath been A very greate losse & disapointmt. to the Company in their Affaires & of greate use & advantage to the French.

- 1696 His Matie. being sensible of the Greate Sufferings of the Company ordered A 4th & 5th rate Frigatt to goe this yeare wth. 2 Frigatts wch. the Company at their very great Charge had pcured & fitted out to retake Yorke Fort The Kings Shipps were the *Bonaventure* the 4th Rate & the *Seaforth* the 5th Rate. the former was comanded by Capt. William Allen who amongst other Orders & Instructions for this Expedition was orderd that on his arriveall at the Bay hee should consult the other Comanders about reduceing the Fort, And in case it was Reduced whatsoever was found therein he should deliver to Capt. Henry Bayly for the Companies use. Capt. Allen against the consent of the other Comanders subscribes a paper which they pretend are Articles And upon this the French (who must in few dayes have starved) surrenderd the Fort wherein were severall Skins Allen instead of delivering these to Capt. Bayly for the Companies use according to his orders Lades them on Board his shipp wch. rendered severall of his Guns [incomplete]

APPENDIX A

GOVERNORS, DEPUTY GOVERNORS
AND COMMITTEES
ELECTED
1687-96

Governor, Deputy Governor and Committee
elected November 29, 1687¹

The Rt. Hon. John, Lord Churchill,
Sir Edward Dering, Kt.,²

Governor
Deputy Governor

Committee

Sir John Huband³
William Yonge, Esq.
Mr. Richard Cradock

John Letten, Esq.
Mr. Stephen Pitts⁴
Mr. Samuel Clarke⁵

Mr. Nicholas Hayward

¹ A.1/10, fo. 3.

² Sir Edward Dering of London, knight, and half-brother of Sir Edward Dering, second baronet, first acquired stock in the Hudson's Bay Company in October 1683. He held varying amounts until June 2, 1692, when he disposed of all but £50 of his holding. He sold this remaining £50 on May 15, 1696. Dering was elected a Committee Member in November of 1683 and 1684. He succeeded Sir James Hayes as Deputy Governor in November 1685 and was re-elected to that office for the next six years. Dering (known as "Red Ned") was born about 1630. He was the second son of Sir Edward Dering, first baronet, of Surrenden-Dering, Kent, by his third wife, Unton, daughter of Sir Ralph Gibbes, knight. Sir Edward, the first baronet, died in 1644 and was succeeded by Edward (born 1628 or earlier) his son by his second wife, Anne, daughter of Sir John Ashburnham, knight. The younger Edward ("Red Ned"), half-brother of the second baronet, was knighted at Whitehall on January 6, 1680, when he was described as a merchant of London. He married, in 1669, Dorcas, the daughter of Sir Robert Barkham, knight, and widow of Sir William Delaune, knight, and died without male issue about 1706. Both Sir Edward Dering, second baronet, and "Red Ned" (then Mr. Edward Dering) are referred to by Samuel Pepys in his diary. (Hasted, *History . . . of the County of Kent*, III, 229-30; Berry, *County Genealogies*, Kent, p. 398; Marshall, *Le Neve's Pedigrees of the Knights*, pp. 334, 179; Chester and Armytage, *Marriage Allegations* (Harleian Society, Vols. XXIII and XXIV); and Wheatley, *Diary of Samuel Pepys*, passim.).

³ John Huband was the eldest son of Ralph Huband, Esq. of Ipsley, Warwickshire, and his wife Anne, daughter of Gervase Tevery, Esq. of Stapleford, Nottinghamshire. John Huband was created a baronet by King

Governor, Deputy Governor and Committee
elected November 19, 1688¹

The Rt. Hon. John, Lord Churchill,²
Sir Edward Dering, Kt.,

Governor
Deputy Governor

Committee

Sir John Huband	Mr. Solomon Hougham ⁴
John Letten, Esq. ³	Mr. Nicholas Hayward
Mr. Stephen Pitts ³	Mr. Samuel Cudworth
Mr. Samuel Clarke	

¹ A.1/11, fo. 5.

² Created Earl of Marlborough in April 1689.

³ John Letten and Stephen Pitts died before February 6, 1689, and on February 22, 1689, the following were elected to fill the vacant places: William Yonge, Esq. and Mr. Richard Cradock (A.1/11, fos. 10-11d.).

⁴ Solomon Hougham of London, merchant, bought £200 stock on February 21, 1680. He bought a further amount of £100 on October 19, 1686. This amount was trebled in September 1690 and the total of £900 was sold by his executor, Solomon Hougham, on May 16, 1700.

Charles II on February 2, 1661. He married Jane, daughter of Lord Charles Pawlett of Dowles, Hampshire, and had (with two daughters, Jane and Martha) a son and heir (John) at his decease on March 3, 1711. The baronetcy became extinct in 1730. (See Burke, *Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies* . . . , p. 272, and Dugdale, *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, II, 736-7.) Sir John Huband first acquired £200 Hudson's Bay Company stock in 1684. This amount was trebled in 1690 and he disposed of his total holding in 1691. He was elected a Committee Member in 1685, 1686, 1687 and 1688.

⁴ Stephen Pitts of London, merchant, first acquired £100 Hudson's Bay Company stock in December 1680. At the time of his death at the end of 1688 or the beginning of 1689 (see above, n. 3) he held £300. He was elected to the Committee in November of the years 1686, 1687 and 1688. He was a brother of Thomas Pitts (see p. 102, n. 4).

⁵ Samuel Clarke of London, merchant, first acquired Hudson's Bay Company stock in February 1684. He held varying amounts up to the time of his death in 1719. He was elected to the Committee in November 1684 and in each of the succeeding six years. In November 1692 he became Deputy Governor. He was re-elected each year and held office until November 1701, when he was succeeded by John Nicholson.

Governor, Deputy Governor and Committee
elected November 28, 1689¹

The Rt. Hon. John, Earl of Marlborough,	Governor
Sir Edward Dering, Kt.,	Deputy Governor

Committee

Mr. Samuel Clarke	Mr. Samuel Cudworth
Mr. Thomas Pitts	Mr. Thomas Chambers ²
Mr. Nicholas Hayward	Mr. Edward West
Mr. Samuell Foote	

¹ A.1/12, fo. 3.

² See Introduction, pp. xl-i. At a General Court held on August 8, 1690, "it was put to the vote whether Mr. Chambers haveing forfeited his Trust & misbehaved himselfe in his station be not Liable to the Censure directed by the Charter & ought to be Removed out of the Committee for his misdemeanour . . . It was passed that he should be Removed & bee made Incapable of being ever chosen hereafter into the Committee of this Compa.". The vote was confirmed "by the Ballotting Box" (A.1/12, fo. 27-27d.).

Governor, Deputy Governor and Committee
elected November 20, 1690¹

The Rt. Hon. John, Earl of Marlborough,	Governor
Sir Edward Dering, Kt.,	Deputy Governor

Committee²

John Pery, Esq.	Mr. Samuel Cudworth
Francis Tyssen, Esq.	Mr. Edward West
Mr. Samuel Clarke	Mr. John Smith
Mr. Thomas Pitts	

¹ A.1/13, fo. 2.

² "... the Deputy Governr. was pleased to acquaint the Court that tho they might observe that Mr. Nicholas Hayward, was not now Elected into the Comittee, yet it was not upon any Dissatisfaction towards him, who had Long served the Compa. faithfully in that Station but meerly to comply with his owne Request, who had frequently & Earnestly desired his dismission at this time, as more Agreeable to his private ocasions, And Mr. Hayward Standing up Acknowledg the Same, & that was upon his owne Request & Earnest Desire that he had his Liberty, & that he tooke it for a favour, & Returned his Thankes for it" (A.1/13, fo. 2).

Governor, Deputy Governor and Committee
elected November 16, 1691¹

The Rt. Hon. John, Earl of Marlborough,	Governor
Sir Edward Dering, Kt.	Deputy Governor

Committee

John Pery, Esq.	Mr. Charles Torriano
Mr. Thomas Pitts	Mr. Robert Lancashire
Mr. Edward West	Mr. Robert Nicholas
Mr. John Smith	

¹ A.1/14, fo. 3.

Governor, Deputy Governor and Committee
elected November 10, 1692¹

Sir Stephen Evance, Kt.,
Mr. Samuel Clarke,

Governor
Deputy Governor

Committee

Mr. Thomas Pitts

Mr. Charles Torriano

Mr. John Smith

Mr. Robert Nicholas

Mr. Robert Lancashire

Mr. John Sweetapple

Mr. Urban Hall

¹ A.1/15, fo. 1.

Governor, Deputy Governor and Committee
elected November 16, 1693¹

Sir Stephen Evance, Kt.,
Mr. Samuel Clarke,

Governor
Deputy Governor

Committee

Mr. Thomas Pitts

Mr. Urban Hall

Mr. John Smith

Mr. John Sweetapple

Colonel Robert Lancashire

Captain John Nicholson

Mr. Robert Nicholas

¹ A.1/16, fo. 2.

Governor, Deputy Governor and Committee
elected November 22, 1694¹

Sir Stephen Evance, Kt.,
Mr. Samuel Clarke,

Governor
Deputy Governor

Committee

Sir John Sweetaple, Kt.²
John Pery, Esq.,
Mr. Thomas Pitts

Captain John Nicholson
Mr. Robert Nicholas
Mr. Peter Hudson

Mr. John Smith

¹ A.17/1, fo. 2.

² Knighted at Whitehall, November 12, 1694. (Marshall, *Le Neve's Pedigrees of the Knights . . .*, p. 447.)

Governor, Deputy Governor and Committee
elected November 20, 1695¹

Sir Stephen Evance, Kt.,
Mr. Samuel Clarke,

Governor
Deputy Governor

Committee

Sir John Sweetaple, Kt.
John Pery, Esq.,
Mr. Thomas Pitts

Capt. John Nicholson
Mr. Robert Nicholas
Captain John Bromwell

Mr. John Smith

¹ A.1/18, fo. 2.

Governor, Deputy Governor and Committee
elected November 18, 1696¹

Sir William Trumbull, Kt.,²
Mr. Samuel Clarke,

Governor
Deputy Governor

Committee

Sir Stephen Evance, Kt.
Sir John Sweetapple, Kt.
Mr. Thomas Pitts

Capt. John Nicholson
John Pery, Esq.,
Mr. Robert Nicholas

Capt. John Bromwell

¹ A.1/19, fo. 1.

² Sir William Trumbull, knight, one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, acquired £600 Hudson's Bay Company stock on November 12, 1696. Six days later, "attended by severall Persons of Quality", he took the oath as Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company. He was re-elected to office again in 1697, 1698 and 1699. Trumbull was born in 1639, knighted in 1684 and died in 1716. For an outline of his career see *D.N.B.*

APPENDIX B

The originall & Trebled Joint Stock of the Hudsons Bay
Compa. as it was declared by the Committee of the
said Company, the 3d of Septembr. 1690¹

	Originall Stock			Trebled Stock		
	£	s	d	£	s	d
The Kings Most Excellt. Majesty	300	—	—	900	—	—
His Grace the Duke of Albemarles Executors ..	500	—	—	1500	—	—
The Rt. Honble. William Earle of Craven	200	—	—	600	—	—
Mr. Richard Cradock	260	—	—	780	—	—
The Honble. Robert Boyle Esqr.	50	—	—	150	—	—
Mr. Francis Tyssen Jnr. ..	200	—	—	600	—	—
Mr. Nicho. Hayward.....	375	—	—	1125	—	—
Wm. Young Esqr.....	400	—	—	1200	—	—
Mr. George Barrons Executors	300	—	—	900	—	—
Mr. Soloman Hougham....	300	—	—	900	—	—
John Letten Esqr. his Executor	1000	—	—	3000	—	—
Mr. Samll. Ongley.....	100	—	—	300	—	—
Sr. Edward Dering Kt.	700	—	—	2100	—	—
Antho. St. Legers Executors	50	—	—	150	—	—
Mr. Samll. Clarke	350	—	—	1050	—	—
Sr. John Huband Barrrt. ..	200	—	—	600	—	—
The Rt. Honble. John Earle of Marleborough	400	—	—	1200	—	—
William Ivett Esqr.	100	—	—	300	—	—

¹ A. 43/2, fo. 2.

[continued]

	Original Stock			Trebled Stock		
	£	s	d	£	s	d
Mr. Peter Hudson	600	—	—	1800	—	—
Mr. Samll. Foote	225	—	—	675	—	—
Mr. Christo. Batt	100	—	—	300	—	—
Mr. John Turner	200	—	—	600	—	—
Mr. James Smyth	400	—	—	1200	—	—
Mr. Richard Banner	200	—	—	600	—	—
Mr. Samuell Cudworth	350	—	—	1050	—	—
Mr. Thomas Blackmore . .	200	—	—	600	—	—
Mr. Thomas Pitts	340	—	—	1020	—	—
Mr. Edward West	200	—	—	600	—	—
Mr. Thomas Chambers	200	—	—	600	—	—
Mr. William Shepard	100	—	—	300	—	—
Mr. Peter Jackson	200	—	—	600	—	—
Mr. William Barron	100	—	—	300	—	—
Mr. Edward Richier	400	—	—	1200	—	—
John Topham Esqr.	100	—	—	300	—	—
Mr. John Smyth	100	—	—	300	—	—
John Perry Esqr.	200	—	—	600	—	—
Mr. Charles Sweeting	500	—	—	1500	—	—
	£10500	—	—	£31500	—	—

APPENDIX C

The Case¹ of the Hudsons Bay Compa. of England in Reference to the Canada Compa. in France²

The Hudsons Bay Compa. have Suffered many greate Injuries and Depradations from the French in their Territories & Trade in Hudsons Bay, And in times of Amity & Peace between the two Crownes without any Just cause or provocation have in a Hostile manner been severall times assaulted & Invaied by the French with an Armed force from Canada, who have seized their Forts Burnt their Houses taken their ships goods & Merchandizes, detain'd severall of the English in the service of the Compa. under severe Imprisonment, thereby forceing some to renounce their Religion And caused about a hundred of them at severall times to be Cruelly & inhumanely Killed, & Barbarously drove others to Sea in a small rotten Vessell without food & Necessaries to Support them whereby divers perished that way, And by these practices of the French they designed to ruine the Compa. Who in times of Peace have sustained above two hundred thousand pounds Damage, And the Trade which is of great Advantage to this Nation by Exporting only the

¹ A.9/4, fos. 31d.-34d.

² A.1/19, fo. 4d., at a Committee, December 21, 1696, "The Comittee met this morning in order to settle matters for the afternoone, they being then to have a heareing before the Lords Comissnrs. of Trade, & they haveing Severall papers & Affidavitts &ca. Relateing to the Breach of Articles Comitted by the French upon the Surrender of Yorke Fort to them the 4th of Octobr. 1694 the Same were Looked over, & placed in order. After which they attended till Nine a Clock at Night, & the Report of which heareing, was not made that Night, soe the Deputy Governr. & the rest of the Comittee went home".

Manufactures of this Kingdome & makeing returnes of Beavor Skins & other Furr is like to be lost. And thereby the French will be Masters of all the Furr Trade from America, Soe that wee must give the French in Money more then treble the price the Compa. now sell them for or what price the French please.

This Compa. in the yeare 1685/6 Complained to the late King James of their sufferings who promised them Releife and accordingly Directions were given to his Ambassador in France to Negotiate this Affaire, but dureing his Negotiation & Endeavours, the said late King (greatly favouring the Jesuits who have the profitts of the Beavor Trade and are the supporters of the Canada Compa. in France) the 12th of November 1686 privaited concluded a Treaty of peace for America wth. the French Ambassador then resideing in England & thereby excluded the Compa. of their just demands and they could never obtaine any satisfaction And dureing the time of this Treaty and after the Treaty in the yeares 1687 and 1688 and before the Revolution, they proceeded in the same Hostile manner in burneing the Companies houses takeing their shipps Murthering their men &ca. as they did before.

The Injuries done this Compa. are one of the Articles & Just grounds of his Mati. Declaration of the present Warr against the French King.

1694 In the yeare 1694 the French attacked one of the Compies. Factories in Hudsons Bay called Yorke Fort which was surrendred them upon Articles the 4th of October in that yeare which were in French to the Effect following, viz.

1st That the Officers in the said Fort (upon surrender) should be lodged therein, And the Garrison be entertained as the French.

- 2 That they should have the same allowance of Provisions as the French had.
- 3 That the Garrison should be Masters of all that belonged to them.
- 4 That noe Injury should be offered to any of the Garrison.
- 5 That the next Sumer at the returne of the Ships for France they should be Carried theither from thence to be sent back into England unless they thought better to have a Vessell to pass directly for England.
- 6 As to the Papers & Bookes of Account, They should be Masters of them Granting the reading in Case it were desired, This Compa. had in the Fort when it was taken as many Provisions & tradeing Goods as stood them in above Eighteen thousand pounds.
The French after they gott possesion of the Fort broke these Articles & did not observe any one of them.
- 1st The French Suffered but four of the Officers to remaine in the Fort, But disperst the rest & the Garrison into severall Places in the Woods & deserts in the Extremity of the Cold.
- 2 They gave them not halfe the Provisions that the French had soe that the English were forced to Eate unwholesome Creatures and by this meanes the French forced them to give them their Cloaths & what they had left for a little bread, soe that some had scarce Cloaths left to Cover their Nakedness.
- 3 They tooke from the English their Bedds Fowleing Guns Brandy And from the Chirurgeon his Instruments & everything that was of any Value.
- 4 They Cruelly beate divers of the English, till they were almost Dead Coupled 8 or 10 of them together & forced them to Draw wood severall

Miles in the Snow, where they oft times suncke in up to their Middles used them as Horses, & in driveing them used the same Expressions they use in driveing horses in France they tooke one & tyed him to a Stake put lighted Matches & red Hot Tobacco pipes & burnt his Hands & feete to make him discover the Compas. Affaires & the signall of the Arriveall of their Ships &ca. They would not suffer the Doctr. to helpe a sick man soe that he dyed, they barbarously imprisoned 15 of the English above a Month in the hold of a Ship gave them onely halfe a pint of Pease a day for a Man, & boyled Doggs with the pease, Would not suffer them to have a little Aire forced them to doe the Necessities of Nature in the place where they Lodged, & when the Water came into the Place where they lay would not Suffer them to Pumpe it out that they might lye Dry.

- 5th When they were carried into France they were Imprisoned in Noisome Prisons full of Vermin, had onely a little bread and Brackish Water to drinke, forced to travell from place to place a foote for Neare 300 Miles till they procured Money or freinds whereby they Obtained ease & favour, some were kept in prison the whole time, severall that were sicke by their Cruell useage the English Docter was not permitted to Vissett & helpe them, soe that divers dyed there, one left there Lane & hath never been heard of since, And some that came home were almost Naked And of 53 persons scarce 25 survived these Cruelties And though they requested a Vessell to transport them for England according to the Articles, that was denied And after neare 4 Months being detained & thus used in France they were sent home in the Transport Ships as Comon Prisoners.
- 6th The Compa. have not heither to had their Bookes of Account and Papers, But the Canada Compa.

at Rochell or some others there have them, which hath been a greate prejudice to the Compa. These Matters have been all proved by the Oaths of the Dept. Governor. & severall of the persons soe cruelly used as above.

1696 This present yeare 1696 His Matie. was graciously pleased to order a Fourth & Fifth Rate Frigtt. to goe with three other Friggitts which the Compa. at their very great expense had procured & fitted & wore his Matie. Flag to retake Yorke Fort, Capt. Allen who was the Comander of the 4th rate Frigtt. called the *Bonadventr*. had Express Orders in Writeing from the Lds. of the Admiralty to Consult the rest of the Comanders in reduceing the Fort And whatsoever he found therein he was ordered to deliver to Capt. Hen. Baley for the use of this Compa. When the Frigttts. came before the Fort Allen treats wth. the French (who must have starved in a few dayes) And as is pretended made Articles with them (against the Consent of the other Comanders) whereby he gave them whatsoever they Demanded, And amongst other things that they should have the Beavor skins and such other goods as they had in the Fort. Thereupon the Fort was Surrendred, Allen caused all these Skins to bee put on Board his Ship which soe incumbered it, that severll of his Guns were useless, And being attacked by a French Man of Warr neare Home was Killed And the Ship in Danger of being lost.

Upon the Arriveall of the Ship his Matie. in Consideration of the Compas. Sufferings & Injuries done them by the French the 2d of November last ordered that this Compa. should have the Goods which accordingly they have, which are not above £7000 value, And the Custome of them which they paid his Matie. &

other Charges amount to above £1500. Besides all the Charges of this yeares Expedition wch. Cost them above £15000 And had not any returnes.

Note that what the French had in the Fort of the Companies stood the Compa. in above £18000 with which the French were mainetained with Provisions for 2 yeares, And made a returne to France the yeare 1695 of above 55000 Beavor Skins & other Furrs, wch. was part of the product of this Compas. Goods, & the skins brought this yeare are the product of the rest of the Compas. goods, Its Supposed that some of the skins may be Imbezelled But what the Compa. have recd. appeares by the Custome house Bookes.

Since the Compa. have been in quiet possession of the Goods according to his Mati. Order one Monsr. La Foree the French Governr. of this Fort & some other of the French that were there are brought from Plimouth, And by meanes of some of their Adherents (who noe doubt have a Constant Correspondence with the French Canada Compa.) have Complain'd that Allen broke his Articles, & soe pray that in regard the French kept (as they pretend) their Articles in 1694, these Articles may be Observed & the Goods restored them, And soe procured a Referrence to the Councill of Trade though their Comission doth not Extend to any such Matters.

21st
Decemb.
1696 The Company appeared at the Councill of Trade at Whitehall & made full prooffe by five severall Affidavits (besides the Dept. Governrs. which they have since) of the Breach of all the Articles by the French in 1694 in many Instances And that Allen had not power to make such Articles as last were made wth. the French, And the Protestation of the other Comanders against his proceedings, And the Compa. also offered the

Treaty made in 1686, by the 12th Article thereof it was agreed that if Priviledged Compas. Injured each other they should make Restitution & reparation. The French Canada Compa. broke this Article imediately & this Compa. hath had noe Satisfaction, At which time the French Governr. & some other French that came from the Fort, & their Adherents were fully heard, And haveing corrupted the late English Govr. & 3 others of the Garrison by rewards & promises to make an Affidavet, that they were kindly & civilly used by the French And that to the best of their knowledge & beleife the French kept their Articles; But being Examined Viva Voce, they all Confest that one of them were tyed to a Stake & his hands & feet burnt, wth. Lighted Matches & red hot tobacco pipes & that severall of the English dyed wth. other matters Concurring with the Five Affedavits produced by the Compa. And the Compa. then desired to be further heard, yet for ought appeared the Affirmations of the French & their Adherents and the false Affadavit, seeme to Obtaine against the five possitive Affidavits produced by the Compa. for that.

23d
Decembr.
1696¹ The Compa. Addrest themselves to the Councell of Trade at their very next meeting & prayed that they might have about ten dayes time to be further heard as well to disprove what had been falsly alleadged as to Confirme wt. they had proved, which they could not doe in a Less time

¹ A.1/19, fo. 4d., at a Committee, December 23, 1696, "The Deputy Governr. Reports that he wth. Sr. John Sweetaple and Capt. John Nicholson & Coll. Pery had this morning attended againe the Lords Comissnrs. for Trade, desireing them to give the Company an other heareing before they made theire Representation to his Matie. and a longer time for them to produce further Proofes for the Compa. which was granted, but for noe Certaine time, Though the Comittee desired noe Longer time then Munday Come sennit, but were Required by the Comissnrs. to bring it in as soone as they Could".

in regard the Dept. Governr. lived a great distance¹ (whose Testimony was declared should be Conclusive) & others of their Witneses were in his Matis. Service, And that they might be fully heard as the French had been, But the Compa. were answerd that a Representation or Report was agreed on, And that they could not give the Compa. soe long time.

Note that the Goods the Compa. have received are but a little of the product of the Goods the French tooke from the Compa. And besides these Goods the Compa. suffer by the French above Two hundred thirty six thousand five hundred and fifty pounds most in time of Peace, And if the French be still Encouraged, the Compa. though Confirmed by act of Parliamt. must be inevitably ruined & an Advantageous Trade to the Nation Irrecoverably Lost.

Since the Compa. have intimation that they may be further heard at the Councell of Trade At the last heareing the Compa. produced the severall Affidavits of Isaac Woods William Arnold James Griffen John Russell & James Hubbald who all positively proved that the French broake all their Articles made with the English in the yeare 1694, And gave many perticuler Instances of the Breaches.

The French & their Adherents haveing corrupted Walsh the English Governr. & 3 others viz. Thomas Jacobs Henry Pigot & William Clarke they made an Affidavit that to the best of their knowledge & beleife the French had not violated the Articles, And that they were Civilly & kindly used by the French in Hudsons Bay & France, And not detained in Prison Contrary to the Articles.

¹ Philip Parsons (see p. 183, n. 1) was in Exeter.

The Hudsons Bay Compa. now Confirme their former prooffe of the Breach of the Articles by the French, by the Affidavit of Capt. Parsons Dept. Governr. of the Fort (whose Affidavit was declared should be Conclusive) And by the Affidavits of three other Persons, who have heard severall others that were in the Fort declare the same that the others have Sworne Concerning the Breaches of the Articles by the French, some of which are since Dead & the rest Cannot at present be had, being in sea in his Maties. service & gone this yeare to Hudsons Bay where they now are, But the six possitive Affidavits & the Affidavits of what others that were in the Fort, have related is supposed to be as full a prooffe as in this Case at this time can be expected, Unless the Affirmations of some few French shall be of greater Authority and prevaile more then Soe many possitive Oaths of the English.

Further to prove the Breaches of the Articles by the French Vide Affidavits of	}	Capt. Parsons Dept. Govern. Capt. Grimington Mrs. Davis ¹
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To disprove what Thomas Jacobs, one of the 4 produced on the behalfe of the French hath sworne, from his owne declaration & confession severall times, Vide the Affidavits of	}	Capt. Grimington Mrs. Davis
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¹ Mary Davis told what she had heard from Thomas Jacobs about the ill-treatment suffered from the French. Her story was confirmed by Captain Grimington. *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies*, 1696-97, No. 560 (III and IV).

To Invalidate the Testimonies of Henry Pigot and William Clarke two others produced on the behalfe of the French, vide the Affidavits of	}	James Hubbald to both James Griffen as to Clarke
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As to Walsh the Governr. (as the Compa. were informed & beleive) that as he betrayed the Fort, soe its further Confirmed by his Joyneing with them now against the Compa. in a Voluntary sweareing falsly himselfe & in procureing the other three to doe soe, or else they must be promised rewards after this rate (even by Perjury) to Espouse the Intrests of the French against their owne Country.

Object If it be objected that the English in the Fort lost nothing or at least of any Value And therefore tho they were ill treaty beaten Imprisoned & short allowance of Victuals & the like, Yet these are not Breaches of Articles as to give any authority to the Compa. to detaine these Goods which are of a Considerable Value.

Answr. The Breaches of the Articles & useages of the English were such as deprived them of all they had, their beds & their Cloaths they gave to procure Victualls to prevent starveing, some had their Beds & the surgeon his Instruments taken from him without any Sattisfaction, But by their breaches & ill useage many of the English lost their lives which are of much greater Value then all the Goods, tho the French dispatcht 25 & 30 a Weeke by their ill useage, which amount to the Loss of 1500 seamen in a yeare that way, besides many others they forced into service by these Methods, And besides what the French had in the Fort of Provisions & tradeing Goods Stood the Compa. in above Eighteen thousand pounds.

This is a very Strange procedure at this time

to send for the French from Plimouth, to Permit them to Come openly to Court there to be favoured & allowed to Sollicit & to be heard what they please to say, & to be Creditted therein, & to pretend their Performance of Articles which they never kept wth. any Nation, & have Notoriously Violated with this Compa. on purpose to destroy it, And his Matie. Person hath been in such hazard from the Designes of the French, is greatly to be admired And such as was Never heard of to be allowed by the French King at his Court in time of Warr or Peace.

This Matter if any doubt remaine Concerning it is proper only for determination at a Treaty of Peace, And the Compa. to Enjoy this Small Matter towards their very great losses they have Sustained by the French, which their Freinds here would deprive the Compa. of Notwithstanding his Matie. Favour to them.¹

¹ See *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies*, 1696-97, Nos. 560, 561, 579, 584, 760, for "A collection of depositions [see p. 325] and other papers relating to the infringement of the Articles upon the surrender of York Fort, Hudson's Bay, to the French in 1694".

APPENDIX D

SHIPS SAILING BETWEEN LONDON AND HUDSON BAY 1687-96

* Chartered

<i>Year</i>	<i>Ship</i>	<i>Remarks</i>	<i>Reference</i>
1687	<i>Dering</i> [1] (William Bond)	Sailed from Gravesend to York Fort, Hayes River, and returned to London.	p. 5, and <i>H.B.S.</i> , XI, 243-4, 304.
	* <i>John and Thomas</i> (Leonard Edgcombe)	Sailed from Gravesend to York Fort, Hayes River, and returned to London.	p. 5, and <i>H.B.S.</i> , XI, 233, 304.
	<i>Huband</i> (Richard Smithsend)	Sailed from Gravesend to York Fort, Hayes River. She had not arrived by September 22, the date of Governor Geyer's letter to the Governor and Committee.	p. 9, and <i>H.B.S.</i> , XI, 233, 242.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Ship</i>	<i>Remarks</i>	<i>Reference</i>
1688	<i>Dering</i> [I] (James Young)	Sailed from Gravesend to York Fort, Hayes River, where she wintered 1688-89. It is not known if the instructions to call at Churchill River on the outward voyage were carried out.	pp. 9, 25, 28, n.1.
	* <i>John and Thomas</i> (Leonard Edgcombe)	Sailed from Gravesend to York Fort, Hayes River, and returned to London.	pp. 10, 29, 57.
	<i>Churchill</i> (William Bond)	Sailed from Gravesend to Albany River.	pp. 10, 35, 45.
	<i>Yonge</i> (John Simpson)	Sailed from Gravesend to Albany River.	pp. 10-11, 35, 48.
	<i>Huband</i> (Richard Smithsend)	Sent from York Fort to "Prince Ruperts River" ¹ at the Bottom of the . . . Bay".	p. 83 and n.1.

¹ It is not known if the *Huband* went to Prince Rupert East River (Rupert River), or Prince Rupert West River (Moose River).

<i>Year</i>	<i>Ship</i>	<i>Remarks</i>	<i>Reference</i>
1689	<i>Huband</i> (Richard Smithsend) (— Hand)	Captured by the French at "Prince Rupert River" (Rupert or Moose R.?) about the beginning of March 1689. Sold by Andrew Hamilton in Limerick.	pp. 83 and n. 1, 84, 94.
	<i>Churchill</i> (William Bond)	Captured by the French at Albany River about the beginning of March 1689.	pp. 83, 94.
	<i>Yonge</i> (John Simpson)	Captured by the French at Albany River about the beginning of March 1689.	pp. 83, 94.
	<i>Royal Hudson's Bay</i> (Leonard Edgcombe)	Disabled by the French off the Scilly Isles on outward voyage. Forced to return to London.	pp. 50, 57, 67, 93, 104.
	<i>Northwest Fox</i> (John Ford)	Captured by the French off the Scilly Isles on outward voyage.	pp. 57, 64, 93, 104.
	<i>Dering</i> [I] (James Young)	Arrived in London from York Fort, Hayes River, October 1689.	p. 95.

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<i>Year</i>	<i>Ship</i>	<i>Remarks</i>	<i>Reference</i>
1690	<i>Royal Hudson's Bay</i> (Leonard Edgcombe)	Sailed from Gravesend to York Fort and returned to London.	pp. 95, 106, 113.
	<i>Dering</i> [II] (James Young)	Sailed from Gravesend to York Fort and returned to London. She was sold in March 1691.	pp. 95, 108, 113.
	<i>Prosperous</i> (formerly <i>Dering</i> [I]) (Michael Grimington)	Sailed from Gravesend to York Fort.	pp. 87, 96, 110.
1691	<i>Royal Hudson's Bay</i> (Leonard Edgcombe)	Sailed from Gravesend to York Fort and returned to London.	pp. 113, 131, 135.
	* <i>Loyalty</i> (James Young)	Sailed from Gravesend to York Fort and returned to London.	pp. 113, 133, 135.
	<i>Prosperous</i> (Michael Grimington)	Returned from York Fort to London.	p. 135.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Ship</i>	<i>Remarks</i>	<i>Reference</i>
1692	<i>Dering</i> [III] (Leonard Edgcombe)	Sailed from Gravesend to York Fort and returned to London.	pp. 136, 149, 201.
	<i>Royal Hudson's Bay</i> (Michael Grimington)	Sailed from Gravesend to York Fort and Gilpin Island, off Eastmain.	pp. 136, 151, 201, 202, n.2.
	<i>Prosperous</i> (Henry Baley)	Sailed from Gravesend to York Fort and Gilpin Island, off Eastmain.	pp. 137, 153, 201, 202, n.2.
	<i>Pery</i> (Charles Cotesworth)	Sailed from Gravesend to York Fort and Gilpin Island, off Eastmain.	pp. 136, 154, 201, 202, n.2.
1693	<i>Dering</i> [III] (Leonard Edgcombe)	Sailed from Gravesend to Hayes River and returned to London.	pp. 215, 220, 235.
	<i>Supply</i> (James Young)	Sailed from Gravesend to Hayes River and returned to London. She was sold in February 1694.	pp. 217, 221, 235.

Year	Ship	Remarks	Reference
	<i>Royal Hudson's Bay</i> (Michael Grimington)	Returned to London from Albany River.	pp. 218, 228.
	<i>Prosperous</i> (Henry Baley)	At Albany River. Baley returned to England aboard the <i>Royal Hudson's Bay</i> .	pp. 219, 232.
	<i>Pery</i> (Charles Cotesworth) (Thomas Man)	At Albany River. She remained in Hudson Bay under different commands until her return to England in 1697.	p. 232 ; A.1/19, fo. 41, A.1/20, fo. 3, A.15/4, fos. 56, 88.
1694	<i>Dering</i> [III] (Henry Baley)	Sailed from Gravesend to York Fort, Hayes River, and Albany River, and returned to London.	pp. 239, 247, 269.
	<i>Royal Hudson's Bay</i> (Michael Grimington)	Sailed from Gravesend to York Fort, Hayes River, and to Albany River, and returned to London.	pp. 239, 249, 269.
	<i>Prosperous</i> (Charles Cotesworth)	Returned to London from Albany Fort.	p. 269.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Ship</i>	<i>Remarks</i>	<i>Reference</i>
1695	<i>Dering</i> [III] (Henry Baley)	In England.	A.1/17, fos. 10d., 14, 16.
	<i>Royal Hudson's Bay</i> (Michael Grimington)	In England.	A.1/17, fos. 10d., 14, 16.
	<i>Prosperous</i> (Charles Cotesworth) (Nicholas Smithsend)	Smithsend was appointed commander in June 1695. The <i>Prosperous</i> was wrecked in the summer of 1695 on a voyage between Newcastle and London.	A.1/17, fos. 13-16d.
1696	<i>Dering</i> [III] (Henry Baley—out) (Michael Grimington —home)	Sailed from Gravesend to York Fort, Hayes River, and returned to London. She did not go to Albany River.	pp. 279, 280; A.6/3, fos. 3, 29d., A.1/18, fo. 28d.
	<i>Royal Hudson's Bay</i> (Michael Grimington —out) (Nicholas Smithsend —home)	Sailed from Gravesend to York Fort, Hayes River, and returned to London. She did not go to Albany River.	p. 284; A.6/3, fo. 29d., A.1/18, fo. 30d.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Ship</i>	<i>Remarks</i>	<i>Reference</i>
	<i>Knight</i> (Nicholas Smithsend —out) (Thomas Man—from York Fort to Albany River)	Sailed from Gravesend to York Fort, Hayes River, and in September sailed for Albany River.	p. 287 ; Doughty and Martin, <i>Kelsey</i> <i>Papers</i> , p. 46.
	H.M.S. <i>Bonaventure</i> (William Allen)	Sailed from Aldeburgh to York Fort, Hayes River, in company with H.B.C. ships, and returned to England.	p. 289 ; A.1/18, fo. 28d., A.6/3, fo. 3.
	H.M.S. <i>Seaford</i> (Capt. Grange?) (Capt. Watkins)	Sailed from Aldeburgh to York Fort, Hayes River, in company with H.B.C. ships, and returned to England.	p. 289 ; A.1/18, fo. 28d., A.6/3, fo. 3.

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Milwaukee, Wisconsin	Milwaukee Public Library
Minneapolis, Minnesota	Minneapolis Athenaeum
"	University of Minnesota Library
Missoula, Montana	Missoula Public Library
"	Montana State University Library
Montreal, Quebec	Bibliothèque St. Sulpice
"	City of Montreal Library
"	Fraser Institute
"	McGill University Library
"	Royal Bank of Canada
"	Sir George Williams College Library
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New Westminster, B.C.	New Westminster Public Library

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"	Dept. of Northern Affairs and National Resources
"	Geological Survey of Canada
"	Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada
"	Library of Parliament
"	National Research Council of Canada
"	Ottawa Public Library
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Oxford, England	Bodleian Library
"	Nuffield College
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"	Pennsylvania University Library
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"	Reed College Library
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"	John Carter Brown Library
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"	Quebec Provincial Archives
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"	Saskatchewan Legislative Library
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Sacramento, California	California State Library
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St. Louis, Missouri	Missouri Historical Society

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”	Utah University Library
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Seattle, Washington	Seattle Public Library
”	University of Washington Library
Sheffield, England	Sheffield University Library
Southampton, England	University College Library
Spokane, Washington	Spokane Public Library
Stanford, California	Stanford University Libraries
Storrs, Connecticut	Connecticut University
Syracuse, New York	Syracuse University Library
Tacoma, Washington	Tacoma Public Library
Tallahassee, Florida	Florida State University Library
Toronto, Ontario	A. E. Ames & Co. Ltd.
”	Branksome Hall School
”	Department of Public Records and Archives
”	Messrs. Rolph-Clark-Stone
”	Ontario Legislative Library
”	Public Library of Toronto
”	Royal Canadian Military Institute
”	Sigmund Samuel Canadiana Gallery
”	Toronto University Library
”	Victoria University Library
Uppsala, Sweden	Uppsala University
Urbana, Illinois	Illinois University Library
Vancouver, B.C.	City Archives
”	University of British Columbia
”	The Vancouver Club
”	Vancouver Public Library
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”	Provincial Library
”	Victoria College Library
”	Victoria Public Library
Walla Walla, Washington	Whitman College Library
Washington, D.C.	Library of Congress
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”	General Assembly Library
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